THESIS

RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Under rapidly changing conditions, social and personal integration is most likely to be maintained through value-orientations which link widely varying behaviors into a common system of meaning. Such values are reinforced by group experience. American religious groups have tended to take three types of approach to change. Groups designed as "sacred" offer a fellowship within which values may be affirmed which are no longer considered relevant by a changed society. "Mainstream" groups put religion in the service of individual security and integration. "Secular" groups interpret change positively and seek to implement it on religious grounds.

In a study of 32 western Presbyterian churches questionnaires were sent to ministers, church boards, and a random sample of congregation members. Responses of pastors and church boards were combined into a profile of each church, and 21 congregations were identified as "mainstream," 4 as "sacred," and 6 as "secular." Doctrinal emphases were generally more literal or personalistic in "sacred" churches, more abstract in "secular" ones. Programs of "sacred" churches had an internal focus, but the only difference found between "mainstream" and "secular" churches in program was the use of study-service teams in some "secular" churches.

Consensus was highest in "sacred" churches, lowest in "secular," as was participation in church activities. Members of church boards of "sacred" churches participated most in non-church-related activities, though their congregations were least involved in these.

The few high anomie scores found came from persons in "secular" churches with lower than average occupational status for the group, members of the largest "mainstream" churches, and persons under 18 in all types of churches.

"Secular" churches were more likely to be urban, "sacred," rural; and both more often found in towns with more than one church of the denomination. "Sacred" churches tended to be lower, "secular" higher, in occupational status.

Responses of pastors approached more closely the "secular" pattern than those of laymen. Most pastors favored an activist orientation toward change, while all congregations ranked first the church's duty to give personal comfort and integration in change. The study tends to support those who say that for most Americans religion has been "privatized," to become a matter of individual choice motivated by person needs and ends.

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Chapter I

PATTERNS OF CHANGE

While change has always been a factor in human existence, the present century has witnessed a tremendous acceleration of the rate of change throughout the world. A few examples of this have been listed by Kenneth Boulding:

> An indication of the magnitude of the present transition is the fact that, as far as many statistical series related to activities of mankind are concerned, the date that divides human history into two equal parts is well within living memory. For the volume and number of chemical publications, for instance, this date is now (*i.e.*, 1964) about 1950. For many statistical series of quantities of metal or other materials extracted, this date is about 1910. That is, man took about as much out of mines before 1910 as he did after 1910. Another startling fact is that about 25 per cent of the human beings who ever lived are now alive.[1]

So rapid a rate of change creates conditions and problems in human organization which are not important factors in more static situations, and the response demanded may well be the development of what appears to be totally new patterns of living.

Many sociological and anthropological theories of the past and of the present relate to social patterns which arise in response to different rates of change. There is a large body of theory which postulates a continuum of social and cultural organization from that which allows least change to that which institutionalizes most change. Perhaps the most complete is Becker's sacred-secular continuum,[2] although it can be shown to incorporate and complement the work of Durkheim, Tonnies, Redfield, Cooley, Weber, Sorokin, and Parsons, among others.

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[1] *The Meaning of the Twentieth Century: The Great Transition* (Colophon Books; New York: Harper and Row, 1964), pp. 7-8.

Two complementary viewpoints are incorporated in theories of change. One finds that the external circumstances in which a society finds itself--its distance from other societies, the resources available to it, the presence or absence of various disasters and special problems--influence the patterns of adaptation and maintenance which become institutionalized and hence make up the culture of the society. The other shows that existing cultural patterns structure the perceptions of and response to these external influences. Hence, it is to be expected that slow rates of change imposed upon a society by its environment will strengthen cultural patterns requiring and valuing stability in the system, while cultures developed under circumstances in which change is at a high level may be so structured that they promote and encourage more change. Implicit in theories of this type is the truism that stability (or stagnation) begets stability (or stagnation); change begets change. This is spelled out more clearly when one looks into the details involved in a continuum of social and cultural organization in relation to change.

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[2] Howard Becker, "Current Sacred-Secular Theory," Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change, ed. by Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff (New York: Dryden Press, 1957), pp. 133-185.

The "Changeless" Sacred Society

At that end of the continuum where change is least expected and least valued, we find what has been called the "sacred" or "folk" society. Using Becker's basic definition:

> Any society or part thereof that imparts to or elicits from its members evaluations that can be altered, if at all, only in the face of definite emotionalized reluctance is a sacred society.[3]

The sacred society, says Becker, is isolated from forces which might induce change in three important ways--vicinally, socially, and mentally. Vicinal isolation is essentially the product of geographic features modified by existing levels of communication and transportation. A vicinally isolated society is one which is cut off from contact with other, differing societies by factors which may be considered external to its social organization. By contrast, social isolation is a product of the social organization itself, which deters contact of any meaningful sort with persons who may be quite near physically. Such isolation is exemplified in the restrictions against communication between unlike castes, or the rejection of any but the most superficial contacts with immigrants or traveling bands. Only persons whose social experience has been similar are permitted to have contact with one another. Mental isolation is similar, but concerned more with the refusal to have anything to do with strange ideas than with strange people. Illiteracy or non-literacy will reinforce mental isolation. In fact, the truly sacred society is illiterate.[4]

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[3] Ibid., pp. 141-42.

[4] Ibid., pp. 164-68.

Redfield similarly sees what he calls the "folk society" as isolated and non-literate. Technology is simple, so that nearly everyone is similarly engaged in a subsistence occupation, which creates a homogeneity of roles and experiences out of which a shared world view grows and is supported by frequent and intimate intercommunication. Out of such experiences, a strong sense of solidarity and a series of highly conventionalized ways of meeting problems are interrelated into a coherent, self-consistent system. This system is essentially closed; there is no motivation toward reflection about, criticism of, or experimentation with the system. The value of traditional acts and objects is not questioned; they are sacred. Says Redfield:

> Probably the sacredness of social objects in the folk society is related also to the fact that in such well-organized cultures acts and objects suggest the traditions, beliefs, and conceptions that all share. . . . In the folk society, ideally conceived, nothing is solely a means to an immediate, practical end. All activities, even the means of production, are ends in themselves, activities expressive of the ultimate values of the society.[5]

This likeness of experience and behavior is the basis of Durkheim's "mechanical solidarity"--that kind of group cohesion which comes from homogeneity. With this type of solidarity, the group and its boundaries are easily defined. Similarity of behavior, of values and of approach define membership--the boundary is established against those who dehave, value, or perceive things differently. Consequently innovation tends to become not only heresy but also treason. To be different is to reject and betray the group of which one has been a member.[6] This, then, becomes the basis for the kind of social and mental isolation seen by Becker.

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[5] Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," American Journal of Sociology 52 (January, 1947), pp. 303-304.

Tonnies expresses this kind of likeness in a three-fold manner:

> The Gemeinschaft by blood, denoting unity of being, is developed and differentiated in Gemeinschaft of locality, which is based on a common habitat. A further differentiation leads to the Gemeinschaft of mind, which implies only co-operation and co-ordinated action for a common goal. . . . Kinship Gemeinschaft signifies a common relation to, and share in, human beings themselves, while in the Gemeinschaft of locality such a common relation is established through collective ownership of the land; and in Gemeinschaft of the mind, the common bond is represented by sacred places and worshipped deities.[7]

Thus the sacred society is often equated with bonds of kinship, or at least with relationships of a primary nature which are familistic in expression. Harvey Cox, in delineating this type of society, which he calls "the tribe," writes:

> The tribe was the family writ large. Its roots reached back to a common mythological past and its members were locked together in consanguinity. It bestowed on all its members an unquestioned place and a secure identity. It answered most of the great questions of human existence--marriage, occupation, life goals--almost before they were raised. Tribal tradition gave the answers.[8]

All of these appear to be variations upon a single theme--that in societies where there has been little opportunity or occasion for the introduction of change, a consistent pattern of culture has been developed which not only does not expect change, but also positively discourages it. The behaviors, traditions, and values of the society are spelled out in such specific detail, invested with such sacred worth, and given such complete closure, that the reaction to anything new is similar to the physical rejection by an organism of any foreign body introduced into it. Ways are developed for sealing it off or ejecting it.

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[6] Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society (Translated by George Simpson; Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1947), pp. 70-132.

[7] Ferdinand Tonnies, Community and Society (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft, trans. by Charles P. Loomis; Harper Torchbooks; New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 42.

[8] Harvey Cox, The Secular City (New York: Macmillan Co., 1965), p. 9.

The style and meaning of life are passed on to new generations by ritual activities and word of mouth. The culture can only contain as many items or facets as can be passed on in this way, for as an ideal type this society has no literacy--no abstract way of storing its knowledge for future generations. Rather, knowledge takes the form of easily memorized proverbs and myths and clearly ritualized expressions of common understandings of the world and human life.

Variation threatens the continuance of the society, if it introduces ambiguities which interfere with the detailed memorization of the cultural content. The religious expression of the people is a part of this mold, and is woven into the very fabric of memorization and ritualization.

Lack of any significant amount of change has allowed the creation of a pattern which can tolerate no significant amount of change. Consequently it is generally assumed that this was the life experience of most human beings for many centuries of human existence, for transition from a sacred pattern is considered to have been quite recent in human society. It still has only begun to touch many of the poor and isolated groups of people in the modern world, whose previous experience had not forced alteration of cultural patterns.

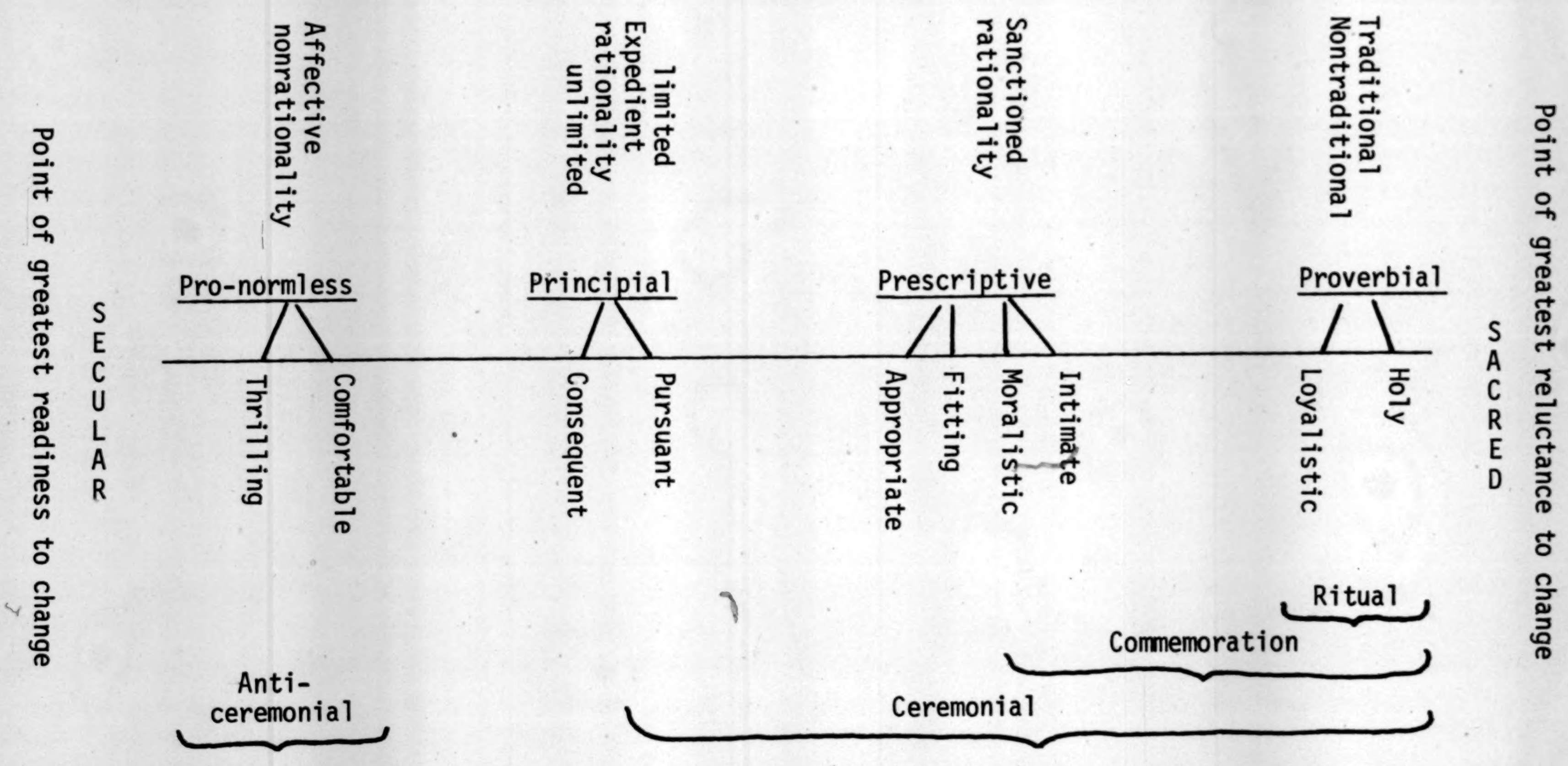
Some Modified Forms of the Sacred

In the kind of sacred society delineated above, it seems that it would be impossible to postulate development out of the patterns. While this points up the fact that the folk or sacred society as a concept is an "ideal type" rather than a description of any known society, it is also true that in societies which appear to be close to this end of the "sacred-secular" continuum it is very difficult to continue to exist under, or to tolerate, significant amounts of change. As implied before, changes in such societies occur only under the stress of changes in external conditions to which adaptation must be made for survival. Such conditions may include severe climatic disturbances, epidemic diseases among the people, the plants, or the animals necessary to the society, conquest or near conquest by another group, and the like. Whatever change must be introduced in order to survive, it will necessitate other changes in the society in order to allow its incorporation into the culture. One of the adjustments which inevitably must accompany such a change is some sort of withdrawal from the totality of the closed, sacred system which only values that which has already been a part of the culture. Given the definition of a sacred society as one emotionally committed to opposing change, any incorporation of something new into the culture is a movement away from the sacred.

Becker traces this movement through several states of diminishing sacredness, where first is found an attitude toward the holy, then a loyalistic emphasis, and then a unity based on the intimacy of shared life experiences (see Figure I-1, p. 8). Next he places a type of sacredness which he calls the moralistic, and which offers a real change from the previous categories. As he says:

Figure I-1

BECKER'S SACRED-SECULAR CONTINUUM[9]


Point of greatest reluctance to change
SACRED
Traditional
Nontraditional
Proverbial
Holy
Loyalistic
Ritual
Commemoration
Sanctioned
rationality
Prescriptive
Intimate
Moralistic
Fitting
Appropriate
Ceremonial
limited
Expedient
rationality
unlimited
Principial
Pursuant
Consequent
Affective
nonrationality
Pro-normless
Comfortable
Thrilling
Anti-
ceremonial
SECULAR
Point of greatest readiness to change

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[9] As depicted by Charles P. and Zona K. Loomis, Modern Social Theories: Selected American Writers (Second Edition; Princeton, N. J.: D. VanNostrand Co., Inc., 1965), p. 48.

> What is meant here by the moralistic covers evaluations referring directly to enjoined or forbidden types of conduct specifically distinguishable from the total personalities of those engaged therein. Concretely, a man may be viewed as having bad morals, but not as being a hopelessly bad man; further, his morals can be improved piecemeal, as it were. In contrast, grave breaches of the holy, loyalistic, and intimate put the offender beyond the pale in many societies; condemnation is complete.[10]

Surely these last words reflect again Durkheim's concept of mechanical solidarity; here one must be totally within the pattern or outside it. The movement to the moralistic is, then, the first real break with "mechanical" sacredness.

A certain level of culture may have to be reached before the moralistic stage as so defined could be legitimated in any society. As an example, McLuhan argues that it is necessary to have literacy, and most probably printing, for this stage to be achieved on a broad scope in a society. The accumulation of culture in printed form, which is less closely identified with a personal source than is a manuscript, and even more so than oral teaching, allows this separation of the deed from the doer, the creed from the teacher. This stage shows also the ability of man to detach himself from his own activity, and so see himself as object as well as subject. The orderly placement of phenomena in linear patterns of cause and effect within a total system of which man recognizes himself a part, becomes possible with this kind of orientation.[11]

Structures within the society reflect this separation, also, for the moralistic society reflects the experience of a world in which there are specialization of function and differentiation of role. Social institutions have become distinguished from one another, and that institution known as religion is specifically given the function of providing the rationale for the moral judgments which are made.

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[10] Becker, op. cit., p. 146.

[11] Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man (New York: McGraw Hill Co., 1965), pp. 170-178.

Becker moves on in his continuum from the moralistic to an attitude concerning what is "fitting," in which actions are judged even less emotionally, usually bringing as negative sanctions not so much indignation as contempt. The fade-out point of the sacred portion of the continuum, as Becker sees it, is that level at which actions are judged according to their appropriateness, and negative sanctions may most often be expressed in amusement concerning the behavior of the poor soul who doesn't know the appropriate behavior for the occasion.[12]

Using his own descriptive framework, it is not difficult to superimpose Cox's concept of "the town" over the center area of this continuum, for he describes it as a rational, literate, prescriptive social order. His "tribe" fits the "proverbial" section of Becker's continuum. The particular point where the town fades into the "secular city" is somewhat unclear, but it seems clear that most of modern man's experience, direct and vicarious, may be found in that portion of the continuum characterized by the town and covering at least most of the area of the prescriptive and principial sections of the continuum.

The Dimensions of Secularity

Any movement past the "appropriate" region in Becker's continuum is seen as having crossed the threshold of the sacred into the secular, where as he says, "Readiness to change, no matter what the reason, supplants resistance."[13] The first of these reasons for change is the development and application of abstract principles. Says Becker:

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[12] Becker, op. cit., pp. 147-149.

> . . . proverbs and prescriptions are so concrete that they are bound to their immediate manifestations in conduct; extensive variation in the way they are applied therefore destroys their effectiveness. If their content is to be salvaged at all, it must be separated from the specific actions enjoined or prohibited and given general bearing. Essentially, this is what abstraction means here, and when it is successfully carried out the result is the emergence of principles in the secular realm. Such abstract principles are still viewed as sacred, for they are regarded as basically unalterable, but the scope of the circumstances to which they have become applicable is so great that striking changes may come about under their auspices.[14]

The principial dimension is further differentiated into secularity based upon pursuing these principles or a kind of consequent expediency which is measured by, though not always consistent with, these principles.

At the far secular end of the continuum, as at the far sacred, rational valuation is left behind, and the society seeks non-rationally now for that which is comfortable, or finally, thrilling. Once again the end of the continuum may only be seen as an ideal type, for no known society has endured on a basis of a value orientation centered around thrills, or even comfort.[15]

Most theorists who take up the subject tend to place modern society somewhere in the "principial" range of Becker's continuum, Even Becker, in his earlier statements on his typology, refers to the secular society as one dominated by rationality, governed by contract.[16] Durkheim finds this true in his concept of organic solidarity, which is a functional relationship holding together a highly differentiated society through the bonds of mutual need and contractual arrangement.[17] Cox's "secular city," the "technopolis," may be nearest the secular end, characterized as it is by anonymity and mobility. Secular man, he says, is both pragmatic and profane, that is practical and this-worldly.[18]

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[13] Becker, op. cit., p. 156.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid., pp. 155-63.

Putting together the ideas of these and other writers in the field, one finds an image of the secular society as one in which change has become a basic value, where modes of transportation and communication allow a free intake of new cultural items from all sources. Such a society allows a free flow of persons throughout the social structure, almost all roles being filled by achievement. Here a complete literacy would permit equal access of all persons to all ideas, and the individual could freely choose his place in the society, his ideological stance, and his friends. Such a choice would result in a high frequency of activity in voluntary groups, for all groups would be voluntary. The value system would be concerned with innovation, freedom, voluntarism, and those devices by which innovation could be increased and freedom and voluntarism expedited. Such devices include education, literacy, the breakdown of any barriers to mobility (hence tolerance), and even the elimination of the "tyranny of the primary group." It might be possible to make a case for the substitution of other values for Becker's "comfortable" and "thrilling." The advent of Maslow, Fromm, and Rogers, for instance, has incorporated into modern culture ideas of "self-realization" and "self-actualization" which may indicate another sort of direction here. But these goals also are those of freedom, individuation, and development which may fit the direction of the continuum.

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[16] Howard Becker and Harry Elmer Barnes, Social Thought from Lore to Science (3rd ed.; New York: Dover Publications, 1962), pp. 40-42.

[17] Durkheim, op. cit.

[18] Cox, op. cit., particularly Chapters 2 and 3.

A Tension and A Problem

Earlier, mention was made that societal change involves two components--changing circumstances to which adaptation must be made, and the internal structure of perception brought to those changes out of the existing culture. The attention just given theories of social change appears to concentrate on the first of these components. There is a certain inexorability about much of the sacred-secular continuum. Adjustment to any innovation encourages other innovations, which in turn not only cause others but also enlarge the culture base so that the possibility for still others becomes greater. Increasing complexity brought about by these innovations, it seems, would encourage changes in the structuring of values along with the other changes.

Thus, in a society where vicinal isolation is breaking down through the congregating of large numbers of people into urban settlements which can only be maintained by a reasonably high amount of differentiation, specialization, and a high level of technology, a decrease of what Becker calls "mental isolation" should be present. That is, simply to function in a society so differentiated, and with a technology that high, thought processes would be expected to be oriented toward a rational rather than emotional-sacred approach. Education would be expected to be more valued by secular-urban man as the avenue to both mental and social mobility. More appreciation of new areas of learning and expression, particularly those which express objective views of life and of man, would be expected. Participation in more or less formally organized voluntary groups would be expected to be higher as these replace the sacred society's ascribed circles of family and neighborhood. The necessities of existence in urban society would point to an expectation that any move toward urbanization in a society would be a movement in the direction of greater social and mental accessibility.

Louis Wirth makes this assumption in his classic discussion of "urbanism as a way of life" when he states:

> . . . reduced to a stage of virtual impotence as an individual, the urbanite is bound to exert himself by joining with others of similar interest into organized groups to obtain his ends. This results in the enormous multiplication of voluntary organizations directed toward as great a variety of objectives as there are human needs and interests.[19]

Wright and Hyman have documented this trend in an empirical study which shows consistent trends of higher membership in voluntary associations in cities than in rural nonfarm populations, and higher rates of membership in rural nonfarm populations than among those on farms.[20]

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[19] Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 44 (July, 1938), p. 22.

[20] Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, "Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys," American Sociological Review, Vol. 23 (June, 1958), p. 290.

Yet this unidirectionality is not a dependable predictor. Urban residence and voluntary association activity--or appreciation of formal education or similar values--are not directly correlated. Most studies show these factors to be more closely related to class position than place of residence. Not only that, but in some studies the size of cities has been shown to be inversely correlated with the amount of voluntary participation. For example, Gist and Fava report that two national studies in the United States, one done by the Institute of Public Opinion (AIPO) and the other by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) in 1954 and 1955 respectively, suggest that the proportion of adults having associational memberships is lower in large cities than in smaller centers. In the AIPO study 47 percent of the adults in cities over a quarter million in population were members of one or more associations, while in counties where all communities were under 10,000, 68 percent belonged to such associations. Village and farm residents showed 56 percent and 54 percent respectively. The NORC findings were similar, though their differences were smaller.[21]

Rather than the full mental and social accessibility predicted in the sacred-secular continuum, there often appears on the urban scene a closed-system way of viewing life from a single perspective. The resident of the urban slum or the upper-middle class suburb may be much more thoroughly isolated from neighbors with dissimilar habits and standards than are rural land owners who share job experiences and back yards with farm laborers. The studies reported above are concerned with the percentage of persons who belong to any voluntary organization. The specialization of the city may almost require this, as in the case of the trade union or the professional organization, but the real test would seem to come in the number to which persons belonged, as a test of how much they may be replacing primary associations in the lives of residents.

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[21] Noel P. Gist and Sylvia Fleis Fava, Urban Society (Fifth Ed., New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1964), pp. 388-389.

Similarly, attitudes toward learning or new ideas are not clearly associated with urbanization, but seem more controlled by social class differences. There is differential acceptance of the values which seem most viable in an urban society, often attributed to the fact that large cities have become centers of recent rural, lower class migrants, while the people whose background should make them more acceptant of urban values have become suburbanites. Yet even cities too small to have suburbs or extensive slums show indications that no direct relationship can be found between urban residence and either social or mental accessibility as measured by voluntary participation or attitudes toward education and new ideas.

As one minor test of the hypothesis that urbanization at the small city level would involve some movement from more sacred to more secular values and behaviors, an analysis was made of data collected in 1964 in two eastern Colorado counties through a survey sponsored by the Farm Population Branch of the Economic Research Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. In one of those counties is located a city whose population in 1960 was 10,751. The remaining area of both counties is rural, with several quite small towns. Among questions asked respondents in interviews conducted over an area sampling, a number could be interpreted as indicators of orientations toward secular values. For example, respondents were asked their opinions of many courses offered in high school. Two of the most relevant in this context are those offered in social problems and in biology, since both require a rational approach to man himself, both as an organism and as a social being.

Of persons whose residence was listed as rural farm, 80 percent answered that the teaching of social problems was either important or very important, while 77.5 percent of the rural non-farm and 73.7 percent of the urban residents chose these attitudes. On the negative side, 2.0 percent of the rural farm, 4.1 percent of the rural non-farm, and 5.7 percent of the urban residents considered the teaching of social problems a waste of time. A similar response was given concerning the teaching of biology, with 74.0 percent of the rural farm, 72.0 percent of the rural non-farm, and 67.3 percent of the urban residents finding it important or very important; while no rural farm, 0.1 percent rural non-farm, and 4.1 percent urban respondents declared it a waste of time.

While these differences were not sufficient to meet the criteria of statistical significance, the directionality of the differences would indicate that the concentration of persons into even a small city is more likely to be related to a decrease rather than an increase in appreciation for this kind of learning.

Again, respondents were asked to list voluntary groups to which they belonged. If we expect that the number of groups in which people participate would vary in the same direction as percentages of persons who participate in any voluntary groups, the prediction would be that higher participation rates would be found in the city than in rural areas, as shown by Wright and Hyman and indicated in the theory.

However, the mean number of voluntary groups in which farm residents reported membership was 2.59, while rural non-farm respondents claimed membership in a mean of 1.94 groups, and urban residents, 1.67 group. Not only was this relationship the reverse of that predicted by the theory, but this time it shows a difference between rural and urban respondents which is significant at the .01 level. The importance of this difference is further emphasized by noting that, of those reporting membership in five or more organizations, 15 percent of the farm, 8 percent of the rural non-farm, and 4 percent of the urban respondents reported such activity.

While the argument may be made with good reason that urban influences reach out to nearly all rural areas in the United States today, so that the development of voluntary groups in these areas in keeping with urban patterns should not be unexpected, yet the point must be made that if such organizations arise out of response to urban living patterns they should find more support in the city than in the country. In other words, we have indication here of what should not be surprising; other factors are at work in the shaping of American society than a simple response to the fact of urbanization.

This does not mean, of course, that all responses in such matters run contrary to expectations of the theory. For example, urban residents were more highly in favor of extending the years of formal schooling, both downward by providing public kindergartens and upward into higher education. In the matter of kindergartens, 75.5 percent of the rural farm, 79.0 percent of the rural non-farm, and 87 percent of the urban residents agreed that they perform a necessary function. The matter of college education was less clearly delineated according to residence area. However, 27.0 percent of the rural farm residents took it for granted that their children should go to college, as compared with 32.4 percent rural non-farm and 44.4 percent urban. Some of these attitudes may well be related to the relative simplicity of caring for young children on the farm as compared to transporting them long distances for kindergarten, and the possibility of inheritance of the farm as a substitute for college job preparation; or they may be seen as the incorporation of general urban outlooks. The data in this study do not provide answers to the interpretation of this phenomenon along this line. They do, however, point up the fact that factors are impinging upon urban respondents from two directions, the one causing them to appreciate education, the other to denigrate at least some aspects of it.

Having considered the effects of the increasing complexity of life in an urbanizing society, and some of the effects that it may have upon_the social order, and then noted that these effects do not always follow directly from the simple fact of urban living, it is now time to move on to the other components of the picture of social change--the values by which situations are perceived and which structure reactions to them.

It seems reasonable to assume that one of the reasons that urbanization does not directly follow the sacred-secular continuum as an evolutionary development is that people do not want it to do so. It is time to examine some of the sources of that resistance, and of ways in which resistance is modified.

Chapter II

VALUES, RELIGION, AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Man has been defined as a "culture bearing animal." In whatever he does, he tends to find patterns and order; and he attaches meanings to his activities as they are shared within a society. In all human experience, the final unity of social groups has been found in shared patterns and interpreted meanings within those groups. In a homogeneous society, such shared patterns and meanings may arise without conscious effort from the shared experiences of a common pattern of life. As societies become more complex, it may become somewhat less easy to provide an underlying or overarching system of meaning by which each individual is bound into meaningful relationships with other members of his society. This system of meaning remains important, however, and is what may best be defined as a set of cultural values, or a value-orientation.

Culture may be seen as an evolutionary adaptive measure by which man attempts to maximize the benefits he may derive from his environmental situation. The things he comes to value are the things which he assumes improve his lot. "In defining the ends that his activities are to realize in culture, man begins with himself as the chief value and the source of all other value. What is good is what is good for him."[1]

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[1] H. Richard Niebuhr, Christ and Culture (Harper Torchbooks; New York: Harper and Row, 1956), p. 35.

Culture tends to accomplish two things; it provides for man what is good for him, and it defines for man what is good for him. The good which is provided remains good only when supported as a whole; consequently that which supports the cultural structure must also be defined as good.

> . . . the good is held to be social in all or nearly all societies and . . . cultures are structured in such a way as to maintain and enhance social value and, each in its own way, to furnish for the individual situations rich in social value.[2]

As a component of culture, then, values are concerned with cultural regularities which hold together the basic framework, thus providing and defining what is good for participants in that culture. A value-orientation is built upon and contributes to the world-view which is shared by members of a society.

Values and the Individual

An important part of the world-view which is supported by values is that which defines a place within this world for the individual.

> What is it then, that gives to an image of the world power over a man's mind and leads him to build his personal identity around it? The answer seems to be that an image of the world becomes an ideology if it creates in the mind of the person holding it a role for himself which he values highly. New ideologies are therefore likely to arise if people feel that roles which they occupy in the existing society are unsatisfactory to them or despised by others.[3]

Values, then, are applied not only to objects and goals outside the self, but also within the very understanding of the self. They are both the product and the molder of the individual personality. The importance of values in this context is perhaps best expressed by the report of the Cornell value-study group:

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[2] Dorothy Lee, "Culture and the Experience of Value," New Knowledge in Human Values, ed. by Abraham H. Maslow (New York: Harper and Bros., 1959), p. 166.

[3] Boulding, op. cit., pp. 161-62.

> Some values are directly involved in the individual's existence as a "self." Values which manifest this quality appear to be especially important in many ways: they are powerful in the world. These values are registered or apprehended as part of the "self," as a psychological entity or system, no matter how diverse the structure of content of specific systems may be.[4]

The distinction between values and personal needs or motives is the distinction between the desirable and the desired. It is possible for a person to desire that which he does not value. According to Kluckhohn:

> . . . we may say that the desired which is disvalued (i.e., cathected but not desirable) is that which is incompatible with the personality as a system or with the society or culture as systems. Values define the limits of permissible cost of impulse satisfactions in accord with the whole array of heirarchical enduring goals of the personality, the requirements of both personality and the socio-cultural system for order, the need for respecting the interests of others and of the groups as a whole in social living. The focus of codes of standards is on the integration of a total action system, whether personal or sociocultural.[5]

Values may be based upon needs, but one of the needs of man is for integration of meaning, in the name of which values are sometimes called into play against impulse needs. It is this setting up of impulse needs as basic values that makes the "pro-normless" end of Becker's continuum appear to be an unstable type of society.

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[4] Quoted by Clyde Kluckhohn in "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action: An Exploration in Definition and Classification," Toward a General Theory of Action, ed. by Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils (New Haven: Harvard Univ. Press, 1962), p. 389.

[5] Ibid., p. 399.

While the specific content of values does not constitute the criterion upon which their importance to the individual may be judged, that content can be important as a clue to the kind of self which is developed. Studies of variations in human personality require an understanding of the symbolic and ideational forces about which the personality has developed, as well as the physical and behavioral environment. Even the study of human personality itself is conditioned by the ideational framework from which it is approached. Rokeach, for example, finds that different psychological approaches are effective in understanding different personality types. He says that Gestalt psychology is most appropriate to persons who hold to belief systems which are essentially open, while behaviorism emphasizes external controls and reinforcements in the context of a closed system. Classic psychoanalysis is also somewhat a closed system, but with emphasis on internal motivation rather than external reinforcements.[6]

Both closed and open systems of meaning may be functional to the individual, as to the society; but as in society, the more necessity there is for change, the more functional an open system of belief becomes. Closed-mindedness, says Rokeach, is related to an inability to find new solutions or create new systems. It is also related to prejudice, intolerance, and authoritarianism. On the individual level, it is the sort of social and mental isolation which has previously been discussed as a characteristic of societies.

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[6] Milton Rokeach, The Open and Closed Mind: Investigations into the Nature of Belief Systems and Personality Systems (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1960), pp. 64-66.

At any time when the particular personality system is not capable of coping with the situation in which it finds itself, a condition of personal *anomie* may result. If values prevent the search for new ways to deal with problems, or if meaning can no longer in the context of the larger system be attached to behavior, the individual finds it hard to function. Durkheim first developed the concept of anomie in relation to studies in which he found a lack of clear definition of success or fulfillment. When there are no such definitions, man can be neither happy nor secure, because he has no guide lines or points of reference by which he can evaluate his efforts. He reaches outward continually, constantly frustrated by the unattainable goal, because it is undefined.[7]

In order to be functional, value systems must provide two things. First there must be a sense of coherence and meaning for the individual. Second, the perceived coherence and meaning must have some relevance in the empirical situation in which the individual finds himself. If there is a discrepancy between these two points, it may be met either with a restructuring of the values to meet the situation, or a restructuring of the situation, or its definition, to fit the values. Individuals whose cultural and personal background has equipped them with personality systems which are open, are those who are most likely to restructure the belief system. Those who are conditioned to a closed system are more likely to restructure social reality to fit the system. Failure to bring the two together is a cause of *anomie*, alienation, and breakdown.

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[7] Emile Durkheim, *Suicide: A Study in Sociology* (trans. by George Simpson. Glencoe, Ill.; The Free Press, 1951), pp. 246-57.

Values, then, may be seen as a factor in human society which is dynamic rather than structural. Kluckhohn observes that while in personality systems the focus in integration is on regularity or predictability, "in cultural systems the systemic element is coherence." The components of culture must seem logically consistent or meaningfully congruous. While such integration is more a tendency than a fact, it is of great importance.[8] The kind of congruity which values may bring to the life of the individual is also provided by them for the society as a whole, providing the cultural base upon which a society may build its existence and maintain its unity.

Values and Religion

Durkheim, Wallace, and others have shown how in primitive societies the common value-orientations are strengthened and dramatized in the religious rituals of the societies. It was pointed out in the previous chapter that as societies became more complex and separate institutions developed to perform specific functions, religion was given the function of providing the rationale for the moral judgments by which a society regulated itself. While not providing all the specific values within a culture, religion has been expected to provide an overall sense of meaning by which they are justified. This does not mean, however, that the only possible source of general value-orientations is the religious institution. In fact, Glock and Stark make a meaningful categorization of value-orientations into the "religious" and the "humanistic." The criterion of the distinction is simply that religious value-orientations have some supernatural referent, while humanistic value-orientations may not.[9] It is true, however, that over most of human history the relationship between the two has been close, and a large number have justified their particular hierarchy of values with religious definitions. They have also looked to religion for new perspectives when the systems of meaning to which they have held no longer suffice.

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[8] Kluckhohn, op. cit., p. 399.

Wallace sees religious ritual as the normal reaction to danger or injury to self-identity.

> When identity is seriously impaired, therefore, we can expect that the experience will call for strenuous efforts to understand and repair the damage to self-esteem; the deeper the impairment, the more desperate the efforts to find a solution. Sometimes, of course, the efforts at resynthesis of the identity are inadequate to maintain or restore a tolerable level of self-esteem; but frequently, if the effort is supported and guided by others and if some sort of model of the transformation process is provided by the culture, the effort is successful. And although there are many avenues to identity renewal, they all involve some kind of identification with an admired model of human personality, and differentiation from a despised model. Perhaps the most ancient, most widespread, and most successful of these procedures is provided by religious ritual.[10]

Ritual, he says, is more basic than belief in the religious system, since it is through participation in ritual that transformations of state take place. Yet belief cannot be separated from ritual, for he adds, "The function of ritual is to prepare a human being for the efficient performance of a task by communicating an image of a highly organized world system, already described in the belief system, and by suggesting a role. . . ."[11]

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[9] Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, Religion and Society in Tension (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1965), pp. 3-13.

[10] Anthony F. G. Wallace, Religion: An Anthropological View (New York: Random House, 1966), p. 140.

Wallace delineates five types of ritual. Ritual as technology includes such fields as divination, those rites of intensification which precede and promote such activities as hunting raids and agricultural efforts, and various protective rituals. Ritual as therapy and anti-therapy is concerned with its use to heal or to curse, and hence with both faith healing and witchcraft. Ritual as ideology may be found in the many "rites of passage" in societies, whereby a new status is ritually begun, and in rites of intensification supporting commitment to and effort for the group, as well as ceremonial obligation and taboos and certain rituals of rebellion. Ritual as salvation is concerned with that kind of socially sanctioned alteration of personality known as possession, with the substitution of one personality for another, as in the creation of a shaman, with the mystic experience in general, and with all sorts of expiation, penance, and good works.

The fifth type of ritual is that of revitalization, which is concerned with transformations of state, not just for the individual, but for the society as a whole.

> A crisis comparable to the identity crisis of the individual may occur to an entire community. When most, or even many, of a community's members are unable to maintain a satisfying image of self because their culture or their fellow citizens, or both, are making it impossible for them to realize the values they have learned to take as goals and models, then the customary individualized procedures for achieving personal salvation may no longer be effective. . . . Under circumstances of anomie and pervasive factionalism,

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[11] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

> a new religious movement is very likely to develop . . . aimed at the dual goal of providing new and more effective rituals of salvation and of creating a new and more satisfying culture.[12]

Religion in Society

Here, then, another dimension enters the scene. Religious ritual is seen not only as a way of recreating self-identity for the individual, but by symbolizing and creating commitment to a new world view, of recreating the identity of a society. There is always need to consider both the societal influence on religion, and the religious influence on society. Wallace shows this when he mentions, first, that increasing technology and control over nature have tended to reduce the use of religious rituals in the fields of technology and therapy to little or nothing, and speaks of a society choosing which cults shall survive.[13] On the other hand, his concept of a revitalization movement is one which places religion in the position of recreating the society.

Wallace is not the only one to express the tension of power between church and society. Many historic and modern studies of the religious institution have been examples of the adjustments religion has had to make to a changing society or the contributions religion has made to societal change. Marx is perhaps the prime example of those social theorists who have regarded the religious institution as the creation and the tool of the society in which it exists. Yet there has always been the opposite tradition, perhaps best represented by Weber, which observes the influence of religion on the development of culture.

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[12] _Ibid._, pp. 156-58.

[13] _Ibid._, p. 259.

Weber's contributions to the field are many, including the concept of charisma as a social force, typologies of prophetic action and religious response, and the concept of a "breakthrough" which legitimizes or creates social change, as exemplified in his works on the effect of Protestantism on the development of capitalism. His concept of charisma as a religiously defined power attributed to leaders is used as an explanation of the peculiar force with which religious ideas may impinge upon the societal framework. Implicit in his work is the idea that success in achieving social change is usually accompanied by some legitimation of new forms through some charismatic force. The persons whose charismatic powers work in a society toward change are those he calls prophets, and he divides these prophets into two categories. The exemplary prophet leads individuals to emulate his own patterns of religiosity, seeking to be the vessel of his god by emptying himself of all but the charismatic character of the god. The ethical prophet is concerned with becoming the instrument of the charisma rather than its vessel; and teaches others this orientation. The exemplary prophet is more likely to assist in the transformation of individual personalities; the ethical prophet may turn his hand at assisting in the transformation of the society.[14]

Responses to religious charisma may be either mystical or ascetic, as Weber sees it. By asceticism he seems to mean a course aimed at mastery, whether of the world or the self; while mysticism is directed toward resignation and acceptance. Within either of these responses one may seek to remain in the world (though not necessarily of it) or to reject the world and its institutions. So four types of religious response are postulated: other-worldly mysticism, inner-worldly mysticism, other-worldly asceticism, and inner-worldly asceticism. Only the last, with its concern for a world in which it remains but with which it is unencumbered, has the leverage which allows actual participation and influence in social change.[15] Much of Weber's work is an explication of ascetic Protestantism, as an inner-worldly ascetic type of religion, and of how it was thus able to recreate the culture and set up a life style which made possible the development of capitalism.

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[14] Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion (trans. by Ephraim Fischoff; Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), pp. 55-67.

H. Richard Niebuhr has shown several ways in which the Christian church has interacted with culture through its history. In three major categories of this interaction, he sees "Christ against culture," "Christ of culture," and "Christ above culture." In the first of these categories is found the teachings of the church regarding human culture as the repository and teacher of Original Sin, where the expectation is that the church must fight the culture or withdraw from it. This frame of reference is exemplified by the more militant sects, and those mystics whom Weber terms "other-worldly."

In the category of "Christ of culture," we find the church which teaches Christ as a culture hero, and which in its teachings and organization reflect the culture of which it is a part. Niebuhr finds this type exemplified by "inner-worldly" mystics and the "peace of mind" cults, as well as some of liberal Protestantism.

The category of "Christ above culture" has been redivided into three sections. In the first of these, culture is viewed as sinful, and Christ taught as the source of new interpretations and meanings which can transform the culture. It is assumed that the church can reform the culture. This type is exemplified by the kind of ascetic Protestantism which Troeltsch defines as sectarian. In the second or "dualist" section of this category are those churches which teach that culture is a necessary adjustment to control man, who is sinful. The church must accept the culture as a disciplining force, and cooperate with other social institutions as they are. This type is exemplified by Lutheranism as Troeltsch identified it. The third section of this category is what Niebuhr termed the "synthetist," and one in which the teaching is that culture, as a human institution, must be guided by the church, which is to be dominant within it. There the church is expected to guide, administer, explain, and justify the culture which it heads. This type was exemplified by the works of Thomas Aquinus, and was practically possible only to medieval Catholicism, although other churches have tried to do this.[16]

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[15] Talcott Parsons, "Introduction," Max Weber, op. cit., pp. li-lii.

The work of Troeltsch, to which Niebuhr gave reference, is a history of western Christianity in the light of a typology of religious organization in which three types are distinguished. In the "church" there is found an acceptance of the "world"--the secular order, and a conception of the function of the church as providing leadership and stabilization for that order. Asceticism to the church in this typology is a specialized task for the few, and the church itself is defined as the Kingdom of God on earth, administering the grace of God accomplished by Christ through the sacraments.

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[16] H. Richard Niebuhr, _op. cit_., _passim_.

The "sect," by comparison, may be indifferent or even hostile to the world, and has no desire to control the society. It rather is concerned with personal perfection and fellowship in small groups, where asceticism is expected of all believers, but defined more in terms of a secular "calling" than the kind of heroism which may be expected of the specialists in the church type. In this type of religious organization the church is defined as the herald of the Kingdom of God which is yet to come, and Christ is seen as head of the church, example, and law-giver.

In the third type, mysticism, Troeltsch finds a religious system which may either reject the world or see God as immanent within it. It tends to be an individualistic fellowship based on like-mindedness, in which the supernatural aim is taken as one which is personal, inward, and related to the self. Asceticism is rejected except as an individual program of self-improvement, and the Kingdom of God is seen as within the individual, not needing any external organization. Here Christ is seen as a symbol of inward spiritual principles, and redemption as continually repeated within individuals.[17]

Many theories and studies have been built upon this typology, although most seem to ignore the third type, mysticism, and concentrate upon the church-sect dichotomy. Benton Johnson has made perhaps the greatest reduction of these concepts to only a single continuum, in which he places church and sect at opposite ends of a measure of acceptance or rejection of the society in which they exist.[18] The direct consequence of such acceptance or rejection is discussed further by Scanzoni, who says of the church-type:

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[17] Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of Christian Churches (trans. by Olive Wyon; Harper Torchbooks; New York: Harper and Row, 1960), *passim*.

[18] Benton Johnson, "On Church and Sect," American Sociological Review, Vol. 38 (August, 1963), pp. 539-549.

> When members of the church body accept the prevailing culture, they must reject certain traditional orientations both in the external environment and within the religious system itself. However, a complex society is not static, but undergoes continual change. It follows that if the church-type group is to "accept" modern society, it must continually alter its internal structure and keep sloughing off traditional elements to keep pace with changes in the external environment. Thus, when we say that the Church body "accepts" the milieu, we mean that this is both an event and a process, or else it must cease to be either.[19]

Or of the sect, he says:

> In contrast, when members of a sect group reject the social milieu, they are forced into continued acceptance of religious traditionalism. For them, rejection becomes a process of reaffirming the "rightness" of a traditional orientation and asserting the "wrongness" of current orientations.[20]

This sort of process within the sectarian approach appears to be related to the sort of "closed-mindedness" which Rokeach discusses, where authority is constantly appealed to in the separation of belief systems from disbelief systems, and the present world is seen as threatening.[21]

The particular way in which orientation toward or away from the social milieu is developed into a personal style creates certain alternatives within this general pattern. Allport, for example, has made a major contribution to the psychology of religion with his concepts of intrinsic and extrinsic religion. In intrinsic religious expression, the religion is a supreme value in its own right, and whether it calls for acceptance or rejection of the world it will be acted upon regardless of the cost to the individual. In the case of extrinsic religion, the religion is used as a means to a personal end. In this case, then, the choice of acceptance or rejection of the world may be made according to personal needs, with religious reinforcement sought out for a choice already made.[22]

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[19] John Scanzoni, "Innovation and Constancy in the Church-Sect Typology: Research Notes," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 17 (November, 1965), p. 321.

[20] Loc. cit.

[21] Rokeach, op. cit., pp. 55-56.

Church and Society in America

The churches of America have been a blend of many types--of church-types and sect-types, of intrinsic and extrinsic applications, of products and producers of the American society. The effects of religion and American society upon one another have been many and varied. Weber, when he visited the United States in 1904, found frontier sects acting as adjuncts of the economic structure of the frontier, although usually unintentionally. By demanding of their members a rigorous honesty and dependability as proof of their "election," they allowed membership in the sect to be construed as a substitute for a letter of credit in the new towns of the West.[23]

Miyakawa traces the development of many facets of our political and social culture to the way in which religion was carried to the

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[22] Gordon W. Allport, "The Religious Context of Prejudice," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, Vol. 5 (Fall, 1966), p. 455.

[23] Max Weber, "The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism," in Hans Girth and C. Wright Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (Galaxy Books: New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1958), pp. 302-307.

American frontier. The immensity of the task of establishing churches throughout the frontier expanse was too great for the established churches of the Eastern seaboard to accomplish with the trained clergy they considered essential to church organization. As a result, the real push in ministry to the frontier came from the so-called Dissenting churches--the Baptists, Methodists, Quakers, Disciples--which were more willing to ordain untrained men who felt that they had received a call to the ministry, and to allow them to proceed to the frontier with their fellow farmers and townsmen and there set up a congregation.

These congregations, mostly sect-like in character, offered new primary group ties to migrants who had left family and friends behind to make a new life for themselves in the West. The frequent use of the appellations "Brother" and "Sister" in reference to other members of the congregation had real meaning, as the local church congregation became the emotional support, the source of values and norms, the "home away from home" for these people. Discipline was severe, and like-mindedness was expected. The "rugged individualist" of the frontier was frequently subject to the examination and rebuke of his peers in the church. In such a way, Protestant sects had a tremendous effect upon the normative structure of frontier society.

Yet the church congregation was also a somewhat more formal organization than the family or other primary groups to which these people had allegiance. Leadership had to be developed and legitimated, and within the supportive bounds of the local brotherhood processes of decision-making and rule enforcement were developed. The transfer of skills learned in this context to that of the local community or township was direct and simple, and representing the local congregations in area church meetings became a major source of political skills which were tapped by the growing political institutions of the West.[24]

If this picture may be drawn of the frontier congregation as a socializing agent for community and wider political and social participation, it may also be applied to the sectarian religious organization of many upwardly mobile minorities of later times. The factors of organizing personal and social life through religious means described by Weber in his analysis of the Protestant Ethic have contributed to the rise in economic and social status of many groups of people (and of their denominations).[25]

Yet sectarian socialization does not always result in a more comfortable adjustment to the culture. Always within the sectarian creed there is an element of withdrawal and rejection of the outside world. "Come ye out from among them," is a not uncommon text. The churches of the frontier were a somewhat uncomfortable product of two forces--the Calvinistic interpretation of life in the secular world as a sacred "calling," and the sectarian tension between the religious organization and the society. The original Calvinistic doctrine of the calling was developed in a situation where the relationship of the religious institution to the society was more church-like than sect-like.

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[24] T. Scott Miyakawa, Protestants and Pioneers: Individualism and Conformity on the American Frontier (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), *passim*.

[25] Perhaps the best explication of this phenomenon may be found in H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (Living Age Books; New York: Meridian Books, 1957).

Here a vocational calling could be seen as a way of allowing religion to permeate the total life of the nation. But as Miyakawa has said:

> A denomination cannot successfully permeate the secular society through the system of calling and simultaneously assume that that society is the sinful world from which its members have withdrawn.[26]

This contradiction has at times resulted in divisions within denominations as well as between them, and in the American experience has often been reflected in growing tensions between the eastern and western churches, the urban and rural churches, and the established churches and the "churches of the disinherited." As Niebuhr says of the more sectarian frontier churches:

> In their espousal of social reforms, also, they reflect the interest of the rural West, whose moral character they largely helped fashion in the decisive frontier days. They are the supreme champions of prohibition legislation, especially with regard to the use of liquor and to Sabbath observance. The urban and Eastern churches reflect, with variations among them, the more tolerant and more worldly attitudes of a European-born, aristocratic, and city-nurtured ethics. These urban churches, however, when they enter the field of social reformation, show a larger interest than do the rural churches in the amelioration of industrial conditions.[27]

A further result of this tension can be traced through the kind of anti-intellectualism which developed in the frontier churches as a part of these regional and status differences--a result which Miyakawa finds functional in the short run but possibly dysfunctional when carried into modern industrial situations:

> The Dissenters, however, had a more basic, if perhaps unconscious, reason for fearing art and higher learning as potential distractions. Ambitious members were anxious to rise economically and politically as fast as possible

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[26] Miyakawa, op. cit., p. 141.

[27] Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism, op. cit., pp. 183-84.

> and needed justification for all the labor and capital they put into their farms and businesses. Religious sanction elevated their work to a calling. If we oversimplify the complex interrelationships, we may also observe that Dissenting organization and calling helped to prepare the way for (was latently functional to) the industrialization of the Middle West later in the century. On the other hand, the suspicion of learning lingering in western popular denominations probably delayed (was latently dysfunctional to) the intellectual and theological efforts to understand this industrialization and urbanization and to reformulate their traditional practices to meet the new situation. As a result of this neglect, it is said, the popular denominations lost many working-class members.[28]

As these processes were molding both the religious expression and the social character of the Western frontier, somewhat different conditions were impinging upon the churches of the eastern seaboard. Here, in ever-increasing numbers until the second decade of the twentieth century, waves of immigrants were pouring in from Europe. These people, ambiguously clinging to their old ethnic identity while searching for a new identity as Americans, found one answer to their quest in a changing pattern of religious activity. Herberg traces the process whereby first generation immigrants, while giving up parochial loyalties to their native villages, tried to recreate familiar social patterns within ethnic enclaves centered upon ethic churches. Early immigrants established German-language Lutheran and Catholic parishes, Irish Catholic churches, and the like. Later, Swedish and Norwegian Lutheran and western European Jewish congregations were established, then Italian Catholic, Polish Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, eastern European Jewish congregations, and so on, each the nerve center of a group of "urban villagers," maintaining identity in a new land through this sort of affiliation. The parish helped to enforce norms as well as to create a feeling of social support and a sense of worth.

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[28] Miyakawa, op. cit., p. 219.

But the quest was also for identity as Americans, and the next generation, finding other sources of identification in the public school and their occupational roles, tended to reject the ethnic community and the church upon which it was centered. Secular goals and secular values took precedence over religiously-oriented behavior. The melting pot could not utilize the narrow divisions of ethnic religion.

The third generation, however, discovered that to have real identity as an American, it is necessary to have a number of basic identifying roles, one of which is religious. Church membership is part of the American definition of community participation in the great middle class to which this generation moved, and so the drift back to the church began. But this time it was not to the Polish Catholic or Irish Catholic or German Catholic--just a Catholic church; not to a Swedish Lutheran or German Lutheran or Dutch Reformed, but to a Protestant church; or to a Jewish community, Reform or Conservative (seldom Orthodox) which incorporated a sufficient amount of Jewishness to meet American religious identification needs without violating the American sense of tolerance and similarity. The melting pot was actually a triple melting pot, religiously categorized.[29]

This identification of the religious institution with the society has been termed by Peter Berger the "establishment" of religion. He finds that the church is treated in American society as functional because it has become so immersed in the society that it simply serves to stamp its imprimatur on social activities. He states: "Since the religious institution is prominent and prosperous, it is only natural for the religious functionaries to assume that what they say and do has a great impact on the lives of their people." However, he does not feel this is really the case. Rather, religion has been relegated to private life, and to leisure time activity. Its only role in the society is expected to be that of approving what is done.[30]

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[29] Will Herberg, Protestant, Catholic, Jew (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1955), passim.

Thus the historic situation of the church in America created the need for two somewhat opposite trends in religious understanding. The frontier experience created a demand for a religious institution of sect-like quality--a closely knit cadre of committed members who had sufficient unity and strength to impose a normative system upon a raw new society, yet not so much a withdrawn sort of sect that it could not create leaders to maintain that society. The immigration experience (and the experience of social mobility in general) created a demand for a religious institution of church-like quality--an expansive, inclusive fellowship in which individuals undergoing the rigors of mobility and resocialization could find a sense of identity which linked them to the society into which they were being inducted.

Yet both of these trends could develop in similar ways. It was not difficult for the immigrant to identify his church with the society in which he sought identity. Nor was it difficult for the frontier leader to identify his church with the society it had helped him forge.

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[30] Peter Berger, The Noise of Solemn Assemblies (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1961), pp. 37-38.

Either sort of background could lead to a close identification of the religious institution with the society as they found it.

At the same time, either could move in an opposite direction, and find shelter in the church from the ravages of society. The sectarian quality of the frontier church has already been mentioned in this regard. It remains simply to mention that the friendly walls of the church could encourage a retreat into a withdrawn sort of pietism for those who were overwhelmed by an alien society.

Essentially, any of these choices are the choices of an extrinsic religion, in Allport's terms. Those who identified the church with the society are those whose religion, as Niebuhr puts it, is of the "Christ of culture." Those who would escape into religion find the "Christ against culture." But there have always been those within both church-type and sect-type who have chosen the "Christ above culture," who speak of the "prophetic function of the church." These are those whose personal religious orientation tends to be intrinsic, and who would judge the society by their religious standards rather than choosing their religion according to their social needs and goals. It is from this part of the church that social change has been encouraged. When the church as a whole identified itself with the "American Dream" of mobility, and popular preachers such as Henry Ward Beecher were giving sermons identifying wealth and power with goodness and poverty with sin, this is the portion of the church which developed the "Social Gospel." When the church as a whole was happily identifying the Gospel with human progress and perfectability, this is the portion of the church which rediscovered original sin and "neo-orthodoxy."

In the church today, these inheritors of the prophetic tradition are finding new ways to work for social change. Defining as "religion" that institutionalized form of relationships to God which has become functional as a part of the society, they speak of a "religionless Christianity." They tend to be activists, working toward political solutions of social problems, and stressing their "involvement" in the affairs of the society. Harvey Cox speaks of this group as the "New Breed," and defines them as "those laymen and clergy who are bent on moving the church toward a more direct role in supporting and inducing social change."[31]

A Working Typology

These historic trends seem to point to the formation of types of religious organizations based upon their orientation toward the society of which they are a part. While the principle of "ideal types" generally involves the construction of two polar types separated by a continuum along which empirical manifestations may be ranged, the present situation seems to call for a three-dimensional model, with continua in each of the directions. No contemporary church organization could be expected to be a "pure type," yet the location of any such organization in terms of its distance from each of these types may be instructive in coming to terms with its societal position and effect.

The first type, which, in view of the previous discussion, might best be called "sacred," is devoted to creating an other-worldly enclave

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[31] Harvey G. Cox, "The 'New Breed' in American Churches: Sources of Social Activism in American Religion," Daedalus, Vol. 96 (Winter, 1967), p. 140.

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The first type, which, in view of the previous discussion, might best be called "sacred," is devoted to creating an other-worldly enclave in which its members may find security and comfort. It tends to be sectarian in nature, drawing firm boundaries around its fellowship, but has distinct character of "other-worldliness" rather than the "inner-worldliness" Weber found to be characteristic of early Protestant sects. Its view of the world in which it exists is largely negative, and its orientation to the future is what Cox has termed "apocalyptic"--an expectation of a coming "Day of the Lord" or of judgment which does not rely on human participation:

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[31] Harvey G. Cox, "The 'New Breed' in American Churches: Sources of Social Activism in American Religion," Daedalus, Vol. 96 (Winter, 1967), p. 140.

> Apocalyptism is at work whenever people simply decide to opt out of the political process and to seek personal salvation or wait for the deluge. They may continue to be interested in politics, but only to inveigh against its total corruption, artificiality, and uselessness.[32]

That such trends exist in American churches is obvious even to the casual observer, and can be verified by a perusal of any local newspaper's weekly listing of church programs and sermon titles. A couple of examples from a contemporary conservative religious publication may suffice to illustrate the point. The first is written by an angry Presbyterian as he surveys the controversial Confession of '67 adopted by his denomination:

> What do we find? . . .
>
> A church that equates social action with the primary mission of the Church instead of teaching the power of the Holy Spirit and the word of God as the primary way of changing the lives of individuals--and a church that, as a result, is training social workers instead of ministers who proclaim the Gospel of Jesus Christ.[33]

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[32] Harvey Cox, "Tradition and the Future II," Christianity and Crisis, Vol. 27 (October 16, 1967), p. 228.

[33] Harold H. Lytle, "They Are Taking My Church Away from Me," Christianity Today, Vol. 11 (August 18, 1967), p. 1084.

The other is taken from a critique of the militant social activists found within the modern church, published as an article in that journal:

> What stance should the churches assume and what actions should they avoid in bringing the Gospel to bear in such times of travail? A good place to begin is to study and restudy our Lord's temptations, particularly his rejection of earthly power.[34]

In pure form, the theology of this type of church is centered around a transcendent God who calls his people to reject an evil world and form a spiritual colony into which men may retreat and find comfort. Empirically, the transcendence of God in this type is often muted by a pietistic view of God as an emotional support and comforter. This type tends to desire little in the way of influence over the society. Yet such groups do have a societal as well as a personal function, in that the values from which they declare judgment on the society become part of that society's pool of values from which innovation and social change may be legitimated.

The other two types of religious organization are distinguished from the first by their orientation toward the world from which it has withdrawn. If it is "sacred," then they are in the same sense "secular." The difference between the two may be taken as a difference between intrinsic and extrinsic religious views, or as the kind of distinction which Cox has made between "secularism" and "secularization":

> Secularization implies a historical process, almost certainly irreversible, in which society and culture are delivered from tutelage to religious control and closed metaphysical world-views. We have argued that it is basically

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[34] Paul R. Hoover, "Social Pressures and Church Policy," Christianity Today, Vol. 11 (July 21, 1967), p. 1030.

> a liberating development. Secularism, on the other hand, is the name for an ideology, a new closed world-view which functions very much like a new religion.[35]

The religious organization characterized by "secularism" in this sense is likely to be of a church-type. That is, it is seen as co-extensive with the society, supportive of and supported by the other institutions of that society. It is what Berger has called America's "established church." Largely a product of the sort of process Herberg delineated concerning immigrant peoples, its main functions seem to be status conferral and assistance in the quest for personal and group identity, and the adjustment to the values of the society. Extrinsic religious orientations are not difficult to maintain in this sort of organization, and while theological tolerance may be great, since theology is not very important here, social attitudes which are not particularly tolerant may fit this sort of framework.

This type perhaps best fits the Durkheimian definition:

> Thus religion, far from ignoring the real society and making abstractions of it, is in its image; it reflects all its aspects. . . .
>
> But if, in the midst of these mythologies and theologies we see reality clearly appearing, it is none the less true that it is found there only in an enlarged, transformed and idealized form.[36]

Such a religion idealizes the society as it exists. Its functionality to that society is obvious. Martin Marty, discussing this, says:

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[35] Cox, Secular City, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

[36] Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life (trans. by Joseph Ward Swain; New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 464.

> Churches of this sort are a chunk of Americana which we cannot do well without. Children are often sent to Sunday School on the theory that their social and educational balance is not likely to be out of kilter by the religious instruction they get there. Churchgoing is a habit which will serve the community or make happier homes. Such are the churches that are used by their environment, or rather taken captive by it.[37]

The functionality of such a religion in providing values for a society undergoing social change, however, is somewhat more problematic. The view of the future in this type tends to be what Cox has termed the "teleological," which is his view tends to limit its orientation toward social or political activity:

> Teleology, however, like apocalyptism, fails to provide the perspective on the future needed for politics today. True, one can derive a certain comfort from the conviction that reality is moving toward a predetermined telos. But when this attitude informs our planning it can inhibit imagination and discourage radical new initiatives.[38]

Some of the support, both moral and financial, for this type of religious organization comes from those whom Cox terms the "churchgoing Bourbons," who "regard religion as the sacred cement that binds a society to its past." The extreme expression of this group shades into the Birchites and Billy Joe Hargis' "Christian Anti-Communist Crusade."[39]

In the main, however, this type of religion is not militant, but acquiescent. As Glock and Stark comment:

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[37] Martin Marty, The New Shape of American Religion (New York: Harper and Bros., 1958), pp. 125-126.

[38] Cox, "Tradition and the Future," op. cit., pp. 228-29.

[39] Cox, "The New Breed," op. cit., p. 137.

> That the church is being informed by, more than it is informing, the values of the larger society is an indicator that our society no longer appeals to religious suprasocial authority and its sanctioning system to validate its norms. It is also a sign that organized religion is committed, implicitly at least, to maintaining the society as it is rather than fostering its regeneration along lines formulated by the church.
>
> . . .
>
> It is not being suggested that the contemporary church cannot inform the lives of individuals and exercise an influence on society through them. . . . Looking at American society as a whole, however, organized religion at present is neither a prominent witness to its own value system nor a major focal point around which ultimate commitments to norms, values, and beliefs are formed.[40]

Since this type of religious organization seems most prevalent in American society today, and is most within that society's prescribed cultural role for religion, it will be termed the "mainstream."

The third type of religious organization, if indeed it is an organization at this point in time, is based upon a positive acceptance of the kind of secularization which Cox has defined. It is radically secular in Becker's terms also, since it is postulated upon maintaining an open system of meaning and promoting change. Proponents of this type of religion see faith as a commitment to an unknown and unfolding future. For example, Shiner refers to the claim of Christ as concerning "the being of man before the mystery of the future," and quotes the German theologian Gogarten as saying, "wherever we are pushed out of our self-evident truths and securities and experience the uncanny power of the oncoming future, there Jesus Christ is nearest."[41]

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[40] Glock and Stark, Religion and Society in Tension, op. cit., p. 184.

[41] Larry Shiner, The Secularization of History: An Introduction to the Theology of Friedrich Gogarten (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966), p. 78.

Cox finds validation for this point of view in the Judaeo-Christian tradition by extending the proscription in the Ten Commandments against the worship of man-made images to include man-made creeds and systems of values.[42] In characterizing this sort of religious expression as holding a prophetic view of the future, he says:

> The Israelite prophets called the past to memory not to divinize it but to remind people that the God of the covenant still expected things from them in the future.
>
> If apocalyptism can lead to nihilism, and teleology to a certain cosmic complacency, prophecy produces both the terror and the joy inherent in the recognition that the future will be what we make of it.[43]

This secular view of Christianity is that of being called into the world rather than out of it. In the words of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, one of the theologians central to the thinking of many who share this orientation:

> How do we speak . . . in secular fashion of God? In what way are we in the religionless and secular sense Christians, in what way are we the _Ekklesia_, "those called forth," not conceiving ourselves _religiously_ as specially favored, but as wholly belonging to the world? Then Christ is no longer an object of religion, but something quite different, indeed and in truth the Lord of the world.[44]

The "worldly" involvement of this type is obviously great, since their ideology provides no place but the world for its expression. Yet the functionality claimed for this as a religious expression is great, particularly in conditions of social change, because it provides a point of view within the church which constantly forces it as it faces social issues to think about taking sides which may be against its own institutional interests.[45] The political involvement of this "New Breed" tends to be great. Their devotion to a figure like Bonhoeffer may even be seen as resting not only in his theological writings but also in his representativeness of this involvement, since he met his death on the gallows of the Nazi rulers of his native Germany for working against them during World War II. The result of the kind of belief seems quite often to be political activity, either within the framework of existing political institutions, or in opposition to them, as in the case of many clergy-led sit-ins, marches, and demonstrations.

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[42] Cox, _Secular City_, _op. cit._, pp. 30-36.

[43] Cox, "Tradition and the Future," _op. cit._, p. 230.

[44] Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "Religionless Christianity," _Readings in Christian Thought_ (ed. by Hugh T. Kerr; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966), p. 363.

Cox, in tracing their political activity in America's poverty crises, refers to their rejection of a social-service definition of poverty in favor of a political definition which argues that "poverty" is not merely a lack of money or services by some people, but a failure of the political institution. He considers their activity a natural outgrowth of American religion:

> The present renewed interest in political action for the poor among New Breed churchmen is not just a "return to the Social Gospel." It is more than that. It is a reclamation of the main stream of theology in America, a stream only temporarily diverted by the European existential theologies after World War I. Those who see in the New Breed a mere outburst of secular activism reveal a lack of familiarity with the history of religion in America. The Kingdom of God, which in the new-orthodox period had become an "impossible possibility," has become again something for which to work.[46]

The question remaining is whether this religious expression has been institutionalized into any organizational form, or indeed if it can be so institutionalized. Cox finds most of his "New Breed" among the clergy, and frequently not the parish clergy.

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[45] Cox, "New Breed," op. cit., p. 139.

[46] Cox, "New Breed," op. cit., p. 147.

> Of the hundreds of clergymen who flew to Selma, a disproportionate number were denominational and interdenominational staff people, college and university chaplains, and ministers of mission churches not directly dependent upon a congregation for financial support. The same could be said for invovement in urban political issues.[47]

In her study of priests' attitudes toward social change, Sister Neal also found most of those motivated toward change in the specialized ministries or supervisory posts, rather than in the parishes.[48]

It is unclear whether such an emphasis has truly been carried into the ordinary congregational life of churches, where it is shared by a significant proportion of the laity. In fact, there is great argument as to whether this secularized ministry can be carried on by present forms of the institutionalized church. Martin Marty, speaking for this possibility, states, "I for one believe that _we already possess the institutions we need to undertake the religious task set before America today_."[49] Berger takes issue, saying that while some functions may be retained by the present institution, much will have to take place outside it.[50]

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[47] _Ibid_., p. 142.

[48] Sister Marie Augusta Neal, _Values and Interests in Social Change_ (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 159.

[49] Marty, _New Shape of American Religion_, _op. cit_., p. 122. Italics are Marty's.

[50] Berger, _Noise of Solemn Assemblies_, _op. cit_., pp. 157-171.

Social theory suggests that different forms of organization are likely to be related to and functional for different orientations such as these three types. Pulling together various strands of theory, a general configuration of characteristics of this sort may be traced.

A Paradigm of Groups in Social Change

A group which reacts to social change by withdrawal or rejection will in its

teachings, stress the primacy of the ideology over generally accepted forms of validation and acceptability, and demand consensus of its members;

activities, attempt to provide for members' social, emotional, and intellectual needs within the boundaries of the group and its ideology;

outreach, hold a highly restrictive set of criteria for membership, reaching out to others, if at all, only in the attempt to bring them into the boundaries of the group;

membership, appeal to those for whom the changing social situation has been of no benefit, or of some threat; and

function, assist such members to establish or maintain a sense of personal integration in spite of change.

A group which reacts to social change by acquiescence to the change, or support of it as it is, will, in its

teachings, stress socially accepted forms of validation and acceptability, applying these to its basic ideology to support or modify it;

activities, attempt to integrate common interests and activities of the society into its program as evidence of its relevance;

outreach, extend its ideology and activities outward to include a large range of socially acceptable people;

membership, appeal to those to whom change offers little threat except to some previous ideological stance which may be abandoned--and to those whom change actually benefits;

function, assist members of the above type to feel justified in the success they have achieved or to strive for such success;

A group which reacts to social change with attempts to guide or redirect the change, will in its

teachings, verbally stress the primacy of the ideology, but interpret it in a manner congenial with change;

activities, stress the application of the ideology outside the boundaries of the group, and use group interaction as a preparation of its members for engaging in such application;

outreach, attempt to influence others by manipulating the societal situation;

membership, appeal to those who perceive themselves to be in positions of leadership and responsibility, and for whom the change has made more noticeable some previously felt need within the society;

functions, serve as justification for such persons to become involved in manipulating the social change.

An application of this theoretical framework to religious groups, and more especially to those of American Protestantism, could be made as follows:

American Protestant Groups in Social Change

A church which reacts to social change by withdrawal or rejection (the "sacred"), will, in its

teachings, refuse the validity of modern scientific or scholarly perspectives for confirming or moderating dogma, assessing any form of Biblical or creedal criticism as apostasy, and have a view of God as transcendent or as the object of sentimental devotion;

activities, provide a sufficient number of meetings, and meetings with a high enough emotional content, to create a primary-group sense of identification of members, as well as a fairly rigorous intellectual program of study within the boundaries of the creed;

outreach, either be strongly evangelical in emphasis, attempting to convert others, or be primarily concerned with the maintenance of the boundaries of the group;

membership, have particular appeal for those who perceive their socioeconomic status to be below the community norm, or who have been socialized into this type of group, and/or for whom change is interpreted as an attack upon sacred values;

function, allow members to report a meaningful and integrated perceptual world by freely rejecting elements of their environment (ideas, persons, or groups) which are inconsistent with that perceptual framework.

A church which reacts to social change by acquiescence to or support of that change as it is, (the "mainstream") will in its

teachings, emphasize points of agreement between its doctrines and accepted scientific and scholarly perspectives, presenting itself as an enricher of the culture, and God as primarily an immanent force;

activities, include many programs similar to those available through groups other than the church, expecting specialization of interest among members and consequent low rates of participation in the total program;

outreach, measure success in terms of increasing the number of persons within the fellowship, and institute programs of service to those outside the fellowship in the role of the cultural enricher;

membership, have particular appeal for those who are successful, or those who wish to appear successful, in the status system of the community, with relatively low standards of qualification in religious terms;

function, allow members to see the present social situation as essentially good and meaningful, and their place in that situation likewise meaningful.

A church which reacts to social change with attempts to *guide* or *redirect* the change (the "secular"), will, in its

teachings, emphasize abstract over specific values and beliefs, leaving specifics open to change in interpretation, stressing those religious truths which can be made applicable to the present social situation in the tradition of the prophets, presenting a view of God as revealed within the historical process;

activities, de-emphasize church meetings *per se*, defining service and political activity as the appropriate expression of members' involvement, and meetings as preparation for such activity;

outreach, claim to be reaching others by serving rather than by militantly recruiting them as members, while holding to a position of making religious commitment the single criterion of membership;

membership, appeal most particularly to those persons of higher than average status within the community, usually based upon other criteria than entreprenurial success;

function, allow members to feel that they are contributing to a movement to stem the tide of perceived dissonance within the society, thus giving them a personal sense of meaning and integration in spite of such dissonances.

The assumption of this model is that religious groups of any ideological persuasion will attempt to confirm and strengthen that ideology within the "rank and file" of the organization--that is, the local congregation--because it is at this point that the ideology is applied to the society. As Marty has put it:

> . . . we must begin with the parish because . . . it is on the "front line." It is the cutting edge of the Church against the world. Because it is a long edge it is seldom honed.[51]

Two questions then arise. The first is obvious: Is there any empirical evidence that there are church congregations which approach any of these three theological types, and if so do they tend to display such configurations of organization and program as delineated here? The second question, in view of the needs of a rapidly changing world, may well be crucial: If these differences do exist as unified types among religious institutions, which if any offer a system of values which can provide an adequate sense of meaning for today's society--and tomorrow's--and for which members of that society?

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[51] Martin Marty, New Shape of American Religion, op. cit., p. 123.

Chapter III

THE LOCAL CHURCH AND SOCIAL CHANGE: AN EMPIRICAL VIEW

A Sampling of Empirical Studies

Studies of local congregations which take into account both theological stance and social dimensions appear to be rare in the literature of both social science and religion. Speaking of this lack in the literature of religion, Marty says:

> Unfortunately, in the curious snobbery of clericalism, we have few studies of the audiences and settings of preaching. We have libraries full of forgettable sermon books, shelves full of books on the preacher and preaching. Assume that the audience outnumbers the preacher: who notices it? Yet in an age of reckoning, counting, interviewing, poll-taking it should be possible more frequently to find out what is being heard.[1]

Generally speaking, most studies of the social dimensions of religion either ignore differences between congregations, or classify them along broad denominational lines into categories of church and sect, or simply as Protestant, Catholic, or Jew. Yet several recent studies have indicated that denominational differences may be of little relevance in the religious orientation of their members, as well as that of specific local congregations which are affiliated with them.

Schroeder and Obenhaus have demonstrated to some extent the problem of denominational classification in their survey of the participation and attitudes of some 1200 midwestern church members. One of the major findings was that, while denominational loyalties hold firm, a high percentage of denominational differences were obliterated or at least blurred in the perceptions of their respondents.[2]

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[1] Martin Marty, Second Chance for American Protestants (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 159.

Glock and Stark have also addressed themselves to this point. They found that responses to a large number of questions on doctrine and social attitudes varied tremendously among Protestants. In fact, they were forced by their data to conclude that when social scientists simply categorize subjects as Catholic or Protestant, they are spinning statistical fiction. Not only are differences between Protestant groups quite frequently larger than those between some Protestants and Catholics, quite often the responses listed as Protestant are characteristic of only one or two Protestant denominations, and often none at all.[3] They were not able, however, with the data they had, to make internal comparisons between congregations of the same denomination. Other critics of religious categorization score the cultural assumption which Herberg has pointed out, that everyone is Protestant, Catholic, or Jew, as creating problems of identification; it seems that the common practice has become one of classifying as Protestant anyone who does not claim to be Catholic or Jew. Certainly such practices dilute the results of tests purporting to be concerned with Protestant characteristics.[4]

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[2] W. Widwick Schroeder and Victor Obenhaus, Religion in American Culture (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964).

[3] Glock and Stark, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[4] Richard L. Means, "Protestantism in American Sociology," The Christian Century, Vol. 81 (December 16, 1964), p. 1555.

Lenski makes a real contribution with his concept of socio-religious groups as subcultures. But he makes what Glock and Stark have demonstrated as a serious error by classifying all white Protestants together. While it is probably true that, given the present American social structure, Negroes should be considered as belonging to separate religio-social groups, it is also likely that data from the more sectarian of the white churches would have more closely approached similarity to responses from Negro congregations than those of "main-line" white Protestants with whom they were grouped.[5]

Glock and Stark delineated four types of Protestants in their analysis--liberals, moderates, conservatives, and fundamentalists. Another category which cross-cut these in the responses to some questions was the division into churches whose emphasis was liturgical or non-liturgical.[6] Again, these categories were used with denominations as a whole, without taking into account variations between local congregations of the same denomination.

Benton Johnson has to some extent come to grips with this problem in his studies of political orientations of Protestant ministers. He expresses the conviction that a local congregation should be classified according to its pastor's theological stance rather than that of its denomination. Particularly in rural congregations affiliated with the larger liberal denominations, he finds considerable discrepancy between denominational and local attitudes and orientations.[7] He says further:

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[5] Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor (Garden City, N. Y.: Double and Co., 1961), passim.

[6] Glock and Stark, op. cit., pp. 86-122.

> The existence of important political and perhaps value-orientational differences among Protestant liberals and conservatives leads us to propose that these two divisions of American Protestantism be treated as distinct socio-religious groups in Lenski's sense of the term. That is to say, sociologists should look on them as subcultures whose members have a common identity, communicate disproportionately with one another, and share many norms that are not shared by outsiders.[8]

Studies of personal religiosity and attitudes toward social change as such are rather rare, and suffer from the same weaknesses as studies of groups. Aside from these previously mentioned problems of categorization of religious expression, studies of individuals also suffer from variations in the definition of religious involvement, or religiosity. The effect of these variations is perhaps best expressed by Argyle, who says:

> If religionism is defined in a way that stresses orthodoxy of belief and church membership rather than church attendance, it will . . . be associated with authoritarianism, political conservatism, and prejudice. If religionism is defined by church attendance and other measures of genuine religious involvement, it . . . may be associated with low race prejudice, liberal rather than conservative views in politics, and low scores on authoritarianism.[9]

Since prejudice, political conservatism, and authoritarianism are usually associated with the sort of "closed-mindedness" which does not appreciate change, such a problem would seem particularly relevant to the subject at hand.

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[7] Benton Johnson, "Theology and the Position of Pastors on Public Issues," American Sociological Review, Vol. 32 (June, 1967), pp. 433-442.

[8] Ibid., p. 442.

[9] Michael Argyle, Religious Behavior (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), p. 89.

Rokeach, in his studies of open- and closed-mindedness, found that over a six-year time span religious groups showed differences in the development of values in their members, according to whether the content of their teaching tended to be more closed or open. In groups with high religious values, the value of religion remained high, but among those with closed systems political and economic values increased, while social values decreased--these measured according to the Allport-Vernon scale of values. Among those with open systems, theoretical values increased, while economic and political values decreased. His conclusion was:

> Thus adherence to religious values seems to become more opportunistic in the closed group after six years; in the open group religious values seem to become less superficial.[10]

While his interpretations of his findings are open to some question, it would seem necessary to admit that members of religious groups may go through different processes of developmental sequence, and that his findings indicate a certain relationship between closed systems and what Allport calls extrinsic religion, and open systems and intrinsic religion; for Allport says of his concepts:

> Thus while there are several varieties of extrinsic religious orientations, we may say they all point to a type of religion that is strictly utilitarian: useful for self in granting safety, social standing, solace, and endorsement for one's chosen way of life. . . .
>
> By contrast, the intrinsic form of the religious sentiment regards faith as a supreme value in its own right. It is oriented toward a unification of being, takes seriously the commandment of brotherhood, and strives to transcend all self-centered needs.[11]

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[10] Rokeach, op. cit., p. 345.

[11] Allport, op. cit., p. 455.

However, whether the responses on the Allport-Vernon scale concerning economic, political, and social values may be so interpreted needs further support than has yet been given.

Another test using the Allport-Vernon scale was conducted by Pyron, who attempted to use a Q-sort technique to test openness to change among religious groups. He found significant differences between groups of Protestants whom he categorized as high-belief and low-belief Protestants--belief here being defined in terms of orthodoxy. Here high-believers showed themselves to be more oriented toward religious, economic values, while low-believers chose aesthetic and theoretical values.[12] It is in such studies as this that the caveat delivered by Argyle above needs to be heeded, for orthodoxy of belief and religious involvement may not be closely correlated, at least in all cases.

In general, there seems to be a curvilinear relationship between religiosity--as measured by church attendance--and prejudice. Churchgoers in general have been found in many studies to be more prejudiced than non-church-goers. However, the more frequent the attendance, in many cases, the lower the prejudice.[13] Photiadis and Johnson, studying this phenomenon in a context where authoritarianism and orthodoxy were also measured, reached findings which suggest that persons who are authoritarian and prejudiced tend to retain orthodox beliefs if they have them, or to become strong orthodox believers, but that persons who are authoritarian and orthodox--as well as those who are not--become more tolerant through extended church participation.[14]

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[12] Bernard Pyron, "Belief Q-Sort, Allport Vernon Study of Values, and Religion," Psychological Reports, Vol. 8 (June, 1961), pp. 399-400.

[13] Argyle, op. cit., pp. 83-85.

Gary Marx, in a study of the relationship between religious involvement and civil rights militancy among Negroes, found support for the contention that sectarian involvement may be a substitute for political radicalism. He says:

> . . . in an overall sense, even for those who belong to the more conventional churches, the greater the religious involvement, whether measured in terms of ritual activity, orthodoxy of religious belief, subjective importance of religion, or the three taken together, the lower the amount of militancy.
>
> Among sect members and religious people with an otherworldly orientation, religion and race protest appear to be, if not mutually exclusive, then certainly what one observer referred to as "mutually corrosive kinds of commitments." . . .
>
> However, it has also been noted that many militant people are nevertheless religious. When a distinction is made between the "otherworldly" and the "temporal," for many of the latter group, religion seems to facilitate or at least not to inhibit protest. For these people religion and racial protest may be mutually supportive.[15]

Still remaining is the question of the source of these attitudes. Marx found a higher percentage of militant Negroes in denominations which are predominantly white, but his data did not cover the question of whether such congregations reinforce their militance or were joined as a consequence of militant orientations already held.

Yet evidence does exist that the specific content of churches' social teachings is related to the attitudes of their adherents. Probably the best recent study of this sort is that of Glock and Stark. In this survey, rather clear relationships were found between anti-semitic attitudes of respondents and specific teachings of their churches regarding the relationship of Jews to Christ and the early church. This relationship held while controlled for education, occupational prestige, income, rural-urban background, age, sex, and political preference. It also showed no correlation with racial prejudice or other general, non-religious prejudicial attitudes. The study came as near to proving as can be done in a cross-sectional survey that churches, usually without meaning to, have successfully taught anti-semitism to their members.[16]

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[14] John D. Photiadis and Arthur L. Johnson, "Orthodoxy, Church Participation, and Authoritarianism," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 69, No. 3, pp. 244-248.

[15] Gary T. Marx, "Religion; Opiate or Inspiration of Civil Rights Militancy Among Negroes?" American Sociological Review, Vol. 32 (February, 1967), p. 72.

There is less evidence of successful teaching of attitudes considered more positive and more open. Most writings in this area tend to concern specific programs or certain teachings, from within the framework of their educational assumptions, rather than in an objective survey.

Some General Hypotheses

There are many sources of value-orientation in modern society. Religion is only one. In fact, many question whether it even is such a source in a secular society, and view it much more as a dependent variable in the value structure of American life. Yet people continue to speak as if religion still provides the overarching system of meaning for their lives, as it has been expected to in the past. It is difficult to know whether this is a case of ritualism or if it might even be a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy.

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[16] Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism (New York: Harper and Row, 1966).

There are strong indications that a high percentage of American churches simply echo the culture in their teachings. Obviously, in these cases there is no way of assessing the amount of influence which specifically flows from the religious organization, although it is reasonable to assume that such sanctification of the status quo adds to the comfort and security of those who are its beneficiaries. But what of those congregations whose message is differentiated from the other influences of the culture--assuming that such churches exist? Are they "voices crying in the wilderness," or are they having an influence as groups or upon their members which is, in their parlance, "informing" the society? Is the modern religious institution, in any of its forms, a source of values which support an urbanizing, secular society by setting goals for it?

To bring such questions to some sort of testable form is not easy. A first hypothesis, however, would seem rather obvious: that there are congregations whose teachings can be differentiated from the general pattern of the cultural milieu. Within the framework developed before, it may be expected that such congregations would approach in type either the "sacred" or the "secular," as opposed to the "mainstream," which would not be so differentiated from the culture. So a sub-hypothesis of this would be that such teachings may be located within those congregations whose general form of program and activities approach the pure types of "sacred" or "secular."

A second hypothesis would state that there will be observable differences in attitudes and activities between members of such congregations and those of congregations whose teaching is not differentiated from the culture. In other words, the teachings of these churches will have an effect upon their members' lives as they inject influences not found elsewhere into them. A sub-hypothesis here would be that members of "sacred" congregations will show in their attitudes and activities a greater desire and ability to withdraw from secular involvement, and those of "secular" congregations will show a greater desire and ability to participate in secular activities oriented toward influencing the society than will members of "mainstream" congregations.

Some Variables to be Considered

In operationalizing hypotheses such as those above, a number of problems must be faced. The underlying postulates from which religion stems are not empirically observable; they can only be inferred from behavior. Behavior in the form of verbal response is the most obvious method of observing attitudes or motivations. Yet perfect communication of religious attitudes, experiences, or motivations is an impossible ideal.

In testing the first hypothesis, a problem immediately becomes apparent. A distinction must be made. To what extent do we want a comparison of churches based upon their ability to influence members whose involvement is at approximately the same level, and to what extent do we want to measure the ability of the congregation to raise the level of involvement of its members? This question cannot be answered in either direction without the consideration of the possibility of constructing an instrument which could measure religious involvement.

This is not a simple characteristic. Glock and Stark trace five dimensions of religiosity--the experiential, the ideological, the ritualistic, the intellectual, and the consequential.[17] The experiential dimension, concerning subjective religious experience, is probably least amenable to scientific categorization and generalization. Such categories and those provided by James[18] are of great theoretical interest, but are difficult to apply to empirical studies aimed at religious groups. Even when reports of subjective religious experiences are made available, which is seldom in today's culture, the inadequacy of verbal symbols as descriptive measures makes any other measurement meaningless.

The ideological dimension is more tractable for an empirical study, though certainly not without dangers and difficulties. This dimension is concerned with beliefs held, and again subjective interpretations of verbal symbols offer a wide margin for error--one all too frequently ignored. Even Glock and Stark, who have profited in many areas by the mistakes of earlier researchers, show considerable naivete in this area. One can only agree with the critic of their study who wrote:

> Nor is it clear whether allowance is anywhere made for divergences concerning the meaning of the word "salvation" itself. Wide discrepancies in life-after-death and the existence of the Devil, suggest that terms of this kind enjoy no stable usage, and this might explain divergences in response to questions in which such concepts are employed.[19]

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[17] Glock and Stark, Religion and Society in Tension, op. cit., p.20.

[18] William James, Varieties of Religious Experience (New York: The Modern Library, 1902).

[19] Bryan Wilson, Review of Religion and Society in Tension, by Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, Vol. 5 (Fall, 1966), p. 462.

Nevertheless, this dimension can be studied empirically, particularly if some provision can be made for limiting the range of variability in meaning of the symbols used.

The ritualistic dimension is composed of those factors most often taken into account in measures of religiosity-religious practices such as attendance at worship services, participation in special rites and activities and the like. This is one of the easier dimensions to measure, although the inclusion of such ritualistic practices as private and family prayer or devotions involves once again differences in definition and willingness to report.

The intellectual dimension concerns areas of knowledge about the faith and its scriptures, regardless of the amount of acceptance of that faith. Obviously, this is related to the ideological dimension, in that one is assumed to know something about the faith in order to believe in it. Yet factual Biblical or creedal knowledge is not perfectly correlated with beliefs. This dimension can be rather easily measured, so long as the measuring instrument is constructed within the common verbal patterns through which these beliefs were taught.

The consequential dimension is different in kind, since it involves the secular expression of the other four. The movement into the secular realm picks up influences outside the religious institution. Whether or not a person does what his religion says he should do may depend upon factors within the setting of his actions as well as his religious motivation. Yet it seems to be a reasonable assumption that the other four dimensions may serve as control factors in assessing the effects of religious involvement within secular action. Secular activity, at any rate, can be empirically observed and reported.

The delineation of a study which would test the preceding hypotheses, then, would demand consideration of ways of measuring a reasonable number of these dimensions of religious involvement, using some method of reducing the amount of ambiguity of verbal symbols to a minimum. Two possibilities for such a reduction can be noted. If it is true that there is great variation in congregational orientation not only within Protestantism as a whole, but also within its larger denominations, it is possible that a study carried on within one denomination might provide sufficient variability among congregations to indicate trends without introducing the ambiguities of verbalization which are attendant upon different denominational heritages. Such trends could then later be tested in a wider range of churches.

The second possibility concerns the oft-mentioned problem of social scientists attempting to create meaningful categories out of religious verbalizations. The criticism of the wording of Glock and Stark in these matters has already been given. On the other hand, Schroeder and Obenhaus attempted to avoid this pitfall by using open-ended questions in their study, only to be taken to task by critics for the categories into which they finally put these responses.[20] No sociological generalization is ever going to do justice to the richness and variety of religious expressions. The nearest a social scientist can come to it is to work with groups whose religion has become familiar to him, so that his perception of the meaning of expressions approaches that of at least a large proportion of group members. In essence, this means that ideally the categories and the phraseology of such a study should rise out of participant observation within the group. While no one could fully participate in and observe a large number of church congregations at any given time, participation in one and active contact with others should eliminate some of the worst of the difficulties previously noted.

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[20] Lathrop V. Beale, Review of Religion in American Culture, by W. Widwick Schroeder and Victor Obenhaus, Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, Vol. 5 (Spring, 1966), pp. 313-314.

Both these possibilities also have weaknesses. The deliberate attempt to reduce variability in heritage also reduces the range of possible differences which can be observed. Such a study should be considered only exploratory, for real trends may be shown in this narrow universe as small directional differences which meet few standards of significance. Such differences would need to be tested in a wider sample; but if none exist at all, or if the expected direction is opposite to the one found, a basis can be laid for further study.

The second weakness is the introduction of subjective involvement into a study which is intended to be objective. A real understanding of religious expression may well require a certain level of religious experience which tends to create commitments to the group which is being studied. However, religious commitment may focus upon the group or the institution, or may focus upon certain superordinate goals toward which the group or institution is expected to be functional. In this latter case, an objective evaluation of the institution's functionality would be consistent with the subjective commitment.

Chapter IV

THE STUDY: METHODOLOGY

The Universe

Two considerations were taken into account in the choice of the universe of this study. The first was its availability and familiarity to the researcher. If participant observation and familiarity with the activities and verbal patterns of the congregations is to be taken as a positive factor, the choice of Boulder Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. can be seen as an ideal one for this particular researcher. Membership and participation in one of the congregations of the Presbytery for over 30 years had allowed close observation of the development of this one congregation from a pattern near the ideal type of the "sacred" into a close approximation of the "mainstream;" and participation at the presbytery level in various positions concerning the program for women's groups, educational methods and materials in the church school, camp and conference work, and the like, had offered an understanding both of the influences generally available within the denomination and of the response of many of the local congregations to these influences. While not all of this had been done in a conscious effort to become a participant observer for purposes of conducting a sociological study, the insights gained over the years could not be duplicated elsewhere.

The second consideration was its possible representativeness for the purposes at hand. Boulder Presbytery includes 37 churches, whose range of variation appears fairly great. It covers approximately the northeastern fourth of the state of Colorado, from just north of Denver to the Wyoming state line, from the Continental Divide to the eastern border of the state. Within its jurisdiction are suburban metropolitan areas, small cities, farming communities, and isolated ranch areas. The congregations in the presbytery range in size from 16 to nearly 2250. Past contact had led the researcher to believe that these congregations ranged in orientation from a fairly isolated sort of fundamentalism to some of the more moderate secular approaches. Some of the churches have existed since the days when early "Sunday School Missionaries" served the first settlers. Others had been established later, with a number of new congregations tracing their founding from the expansion of the area after World War II. Five were new enough to still be under the care given new congregations by the denomination. The area is one which is undergoing some of the most rapid urbanization in the country. Within the presbytery itself, some rural counties had lost as much as 29.7 percent of their population between the 1950 and 1960 censuses, and counties in the metropolitan area had gained as much as 170.6 percent. Rural areas have been transformed in the years since the Great Depression, with commercial farming dominating over the more traditional family venture. It is definitely an area in which social change has been occurring; it also is an area in which that change has manifested itself in different ways.

The variation among congregations, then, should provide some opportunity to test the orientation and organization of churches with different interpretations of their common faith, in processes of social change which include not only that obvious concomitant of urbanization, the growth of population in urban areas, but also its complement, the loss of population in farming regions. Specific application of religious values to either of these situations could be seen as using them to adjust to social change in the form of urbanization. The choice of a presbytery so located does eliminate from the churches sampled any truly inner-city congregations, whose adjustment to change may be forced by sheer necessity. While this may limit the findings, it also may help to separate necessity from value-oriented behavior. By concentrating on those congregations which are rural and hence the source of migration toward the cities, suburban and consequently containing their share of persons who have actively rejected city living, and in small towns which may either have hopes of growth or fears of death due to the urbanization process, it may be possible to see whether attitudes favorable toward social change are fostered by churches where their need to do so is not dictated by survival.

Focusing on a single presbytery also eliminates regional variations to a great extent, although the range of life styles represented in this one is rather broad. In fact, it would seem a somewhat rare opportunity to be able to include in a study people representing this wide a range of backgrounds and yet subject to such similar religious stimuli as are usually found at this first real step above the local congregation in the organizational structure of a denomination. In this situation, questions may be phrased in terminology from educational materials, programs, and drives known to have been used within the presbytery. This should reduce some of the symbolic ambiguity with which such studies are always plagued, although it cannot fully eliminate it. Knowledge of some of the cross-currents of non-denominational-related literature and programs will also assist in this problem, and the delimitation of the area may make that knowledge somewhat more complete.

The Sample

The research design included all the regularly established congregations in the presbytery. Student groups served by college chaplains were not included, since they are treated as specialized ministries with programs and problems unique to their situation. A similar study of such groups might well prove fruitful, particularly in seeking out institutional influence on potential congregational leadership, but it is beyond the range of this particular design.

All regularly established congregations, then, were first contacted through their ministers. In the case of congregations served by more than one minister, the senior minister in each case was contacted. Those congregations which at that time were not served by a regularly installed minister or a stated supply (Presbyterian parlance for an interim minister appointed to take responsibility for a pastorless congregation) were first contacted through the official contact person of the church's governing board, the clerk of the session. In those cases where clerks of sessions did not respond within a reasonable length of time, contact was attempted through the congregation's moderator--a minister appointed by the presbytery to preside at local session and congregation meetings whenever they have no regular minister to do so. Since the cooperation of these key people in the congregation was considered vital to the study, no congregation was included in the sample until a positive response was obtained from their minister, clerk, or moderator.

The sampling of each participating congregation was divided into two levels. The first level was that of the congregation's governing board, the session. This was treated in two ways. First, since by Presbyterian law the session of each congregation is responsible with the minister for the full program of worship, teaching, outreach, and service of the congregation, it was assumed that their responses could be used along with the ministers' to indicate what was the actual emphasis and program of their local church. At the same time, they are church members whose involvement in local congregations could be expected to be somewhat higher than the average, so that differences between their responses and those of the congregation at large might at least tentatively be treated as due to greater involvement. Session sizes vary somewhat according to the size of the congregation, and in this presbytery ranged from one to 30. Since a cursory examination of presbytery records showed that the total number of session members in the presbytery was slightly less than 400, it seemed within reason to include all session members of cooperating congregations in the sample.

The focus of the study, however, was the ordinary congregation member. Session members could not be considered representative of the total membership, so a random sample of the remaining members was planned. For purposes of having a balanced comparison between session and congregational responses, and also on the assumption that the number of persons a congregation considered adequate to represent it in planning and organization might also be a sufficient number to represent it in a study, the sample from each congregation was planned to be of approximately the same size as its session.

Random sampling was based upon each church's roll of communicant members, and the sample was actually drawn in each case by the minister or clerk of session, according to definite instructions. The number of members was divided by the number of members on the session, with remainders always rounded downward. Each minister or clerk was asked to go down the roll, taking the third person on the roll as their first sample member, and adding the name of each person which came up at the count of the random number obtained by division. If the name so chosen was that of a member of the session, the name of the person immediately above it on the roll was to be taken.

Enlisting the aid of pastors in this project had one particular advantage and one particular disadvantage. The disadvantage was loss of control by the researcher over this portion of the study. It is always possible that a minister might yield to the temptation to substitute the name of a member he felt to be more representative of his church for a random name. The advantage may be seen by comparing this method with that used by Glock and Stark, in which they had the complete rolls sent them and did their own randomizing. They discovered that rolls frequently are not kept up to date, and that a considerable number of their chosen sample were really no longer members of the churches on whose rolls they were listed.[1] Since in the present study ministers were asked for names of resident members, it was assumed that they

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[1] Glock and Stark, Religious Beliefs and Anti-Semitism, op. cit., pp. 226-27.

> The most important task was to obtain candid answers on matters highly subject to normative responses. It is much less difficult to say one doubts whether his prayers are unanswered [sic.] on an anonymous questionnaire, than to tell this to a middle-class, middle-aged female interviewer.[2]

A mailed questionnaire also eliminated the preceptual filter of the particular interviewer.

Weaknesses of this method include the inability to pursue ambiguities until they are clarified, and the lack of opportunity for the respondent to question the exact meaning of an item. In the present study, the mailed questionnaire method is probably most functional in the area of ideological responses, and most dysfunctional in obtaining a full report on consequential behavior, particularly participation and activity in the secular sphere, since respondents may have defined rather narrowly what kind of participation was relevant to the study. Their definition of such relevance may have been considerably different from that incorporated in the research design.

Because of the slightly different focus in each case, three questionnaires were used, one for pastors, one for session members, and one for the congregational sample. The pastors' questionnaire was aimed at obtaining a profile of the specific congregation to which individual involvements were directed. Members of the session were asked to contribute to this profile, and also to provide information about their own personal involvement. The samples of congregation members were to provide just information on their own involvement.

One aspect of that involvement, largely covered by the definition of ritual involvement, was activity in programs and organizations of the congregation. Since giving information about specific organizations and groups within the congregation was not much more than reporting the contents of the church calendar, it was decided that the pastor (or his secretary) could supply this information. Each pastor was asked to list all meetings and organizations which he considered a part of the congregational program, and to rank in order the functions of that group, such as worship, study, service, fellowship, or others. Two other questions concerning activities of the congregation were included:

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[2] _Ibid._, p. 248.

> Are there any specific activities in the community or other areas outside the usual church program in which members of your congregation are encouraged to participate as a part of their Christian witness? and
>
> What specific services or activities of your congregation during the past year do you feel have been most meaningful?

Responses to both these questions were used as indicators of the congregation's stance toward involvement in the society. A third question was added as a result of the pre-test. This was, "Does your congregation hold other regular worship services in addition to the regular Sunday morning worship?" The addition was made in response to answers by pre-test respondents that the "more than once a week" category of attendance at worship was an impossibility for them.

The other questions asked pastors, aside from one on the length of time they had served their particular congregations, were identical with those asked of Session members, and only slightly differently worded from items on the questionnaire for congregation members. These items, aimed at the ideological dimension, involved doctrinal points, perceptions of the role of the church and the individual Christian, and attitudes toward the relationship between religion and social change. At first the plan was simply to ask pastors to give their personal responses on these items. But when one pastor, looking over some of the items, commented, "I know some people in my congregation who'd give a lot to know how I'd answer that one!" it became clear that some pastoral responses might be strictly personal. Since the purpose of the study was to discover the influence of what was promoted within the congregation upon its members, opinions privately held by their pastors but not publicly espoused by them were irrelevant. So instructions in this section of the pastors' questionnaire were rephrased to ask how these concepts are communicated within the congregation. Since the minister is officially termed in the denomination a "teaching elder," it was assumed that his personal beliefs would be incorporated insofar as he actively promulgated them. At the same time, the rephrasing may have eliminated a potential threat to pastors which might have limited their response.

The doctrinal questions made no attempt to cover the range of Christian doctrine. Rather, a few of the core concepts of the faith about which variations of opinion were known to exist were chosen as indicators of general ideological variability. Since the provision of open-ended questions has not proved in the past to have overcome the difficulties of categorization of responses, the choice of form for measuring ideological involvement fell to a forced choice among a range of items constructed by the researcher and drawn from experience in the program and teaching found within the presbytery. Items used by Glock and Stark in their study, and most fully reported by them in Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism were taken as a starting point in the construction of items. However, knowledge of the way some of the terms they used are treated within the presbytery caused a rather quick withdrawal from borrowing their items wholesale. A considerable amount of assistance was solicited from ministers attached to the university, who would not be a part of the final sample although they had ties to the presbytery.

After long consideration and attempts at constructing a range of possible choices on a number of core concepts, five of these concepts were finally chosen. They were God, Christ, life after death (finally titled "This Life and the Next"), sin and evil, and the Bible. Originally, five or six items were constructed concerning each concept, and a final category of "Other" provided for individual variation. After noting responses tendered in the "Other" category in the pre-test, the final form was developed with six items under each concept which offered in each case responses ranging from literalistic to near rejection, and from intellectualization to sentiment. As far as possible, phraseology was used which should be familiar to persons whose religious indoctrination had followed one of several strands of Christian thought and teaching which had been generally available in the presbytery for a number of years.

There were specific reasons for holding as much as possible to stereotyped phraseology. It was taken for granted that no forced-choice items of religious doctrine could offer respondents full expression of their thought on the subject. However, certain common phrases often bring to mind a whole configuration of ideas within which the phrase was used, thus setting up a reaction, positive or negative, to the whole rather than just the phrase. To others who have not been exposed to this particular form of expression, the phrase may be meaningless. It was assumed, then, that particular "catch phrases" might indicate more to the respondents than the actual content of the item, and that it would be better to make use of those available from the common experience of respondents and researcher than to be caught unknowingly in the process by using unfamiliar phrases.

While individual members could be asked simply to choose among items, it was necessary to have in the profile of the congregation some indication not only of the most favored choice in congregational emphasis, but also the comparative rating of other choices which might be made by congregation members. For this reason, pastors and session members were asked to rank items under each heading according to their perception of the acceptability of each item in the teaching and emphasis of their congregation. Session members were also asked to check their personal choice among the items, for analysis along with responses of other members of their congregations.

Three other areas were covered in testing for ideological involvement. These included behavioral aspects of the Christian life, attitude concerning the role of the church, and attitudes concerning the relationship between religion and social change. Particularly in the case of the first two, it was assumed that several or all the items could be accepted as important. For this reason, all respondents were asked to rank items in order of importance or acceptability. The category on social change was a direct attempt to have respondents place themselves into the broad categories of "sacred," "mainstream," or "secular" as delineated in the theoretical approach. Ranking here was requested in order to provide some sort of directional orientation among those whose first choice was the "mainstream" item.

Pastor's questionnaires contained only the items so far noted. Session members and other congregation members were also asked to provide personal data, including age, sex, occupation and occupation of the head of the household, length of membership in the congregation, and in the case of session members, length of time in that office. One other item of face data, previous congregational affiliation, was added as a control factor for use in the case of responses which might seem out of the general pattern.

Session and other congregational members were also asked to report their membership and participation in church-oriented and secular activities and organizations, as a measure of ritualistic and consequential involvement. Two subjective measures were also included. One, considered part of the consequential dimension, was an adaptation of the Srole Anomie Scale. The other simply offered the opportunity to provide a direct subjective report on the depth of personal religious involvement, with items ranging from, "My membership in the church has little meaning for me, but exists because of habit or because others expect it of me," to "My religion is my whole life."

One serious error was allowed to slip through in the printing of the questionnaire. In some way, the two center items offered for choice under the concept of "Christ" were omitted from the session members' questionnaires. Consequently, all analyses had to be made on the four remaining items. At first, consideration was given to deleting this item from the study, but when analysis showed so great a preponderance of choices of the first and most literalistic item regardless of the number of other choices, the section was retained.

The Pre-Test

In order not to contaminate the sample, but yet to stay within the regional milieu of the study, the questionnaires were pre-tested in congregations which were not Presbyterian, but which were known to be in interaction with local Presbyterian clergy and congregations through the local Council of Churches, Ministerial Alliance, United Church Women, and a number of cooperative leadership training schools and service projects sponsored by these groups. To allow for a reasonable range of opinion, three congregations were contacted. One was a large Methodist church with a liberal reputation but some history of theological differences within the congregation, another was a Lutheran congregation recently risen from an ethnic identity and considered quite conservative, and the third was a rather new Lutheran congregation of somewhat more liberal reputation. Ministers in each case were asked to hand out questionnaires to members of their church boards and congregations who might be willing to take the time to fill them out. No attempt was made to stratify or randomize these respondents, so answers in general were probably returned almost exclusively by those whose involvement was high enough that their interaction with the minister was rather great. This may have been a weakness, since it did not test the clarity of the questionnaires for members whose involvement was low. However, the attempt to measure the influence of the institution may be partly based upon an ability to work within institutional language, which these pre-test subjects could more readily supply.

Subjects were given stamped, addressed envelopes for returning the questionnaires, to eliminate any effect upon their responses which might occur through their desire to meet their pastor's normative expectations should they return them to him. A return of 29 questionnaires--16 from individuals, 10 from officers, and 3 from pastors--gave evidence that response patterns from the three congregations did vary systematically. By the time the last ones arrived, it became possible in most cases to identify the congregation to which the respondent belonged on the basis of responses to the ideological questions, before confirming it with reported data on their membership.

With this assurance, comments and criticisms were noted, and several items revised to include suggestions or to clarify questions of these respondents. Instructions for filling out the questionnaires were also revised at points where confusion was exhibited. The final form of the questionnaire was not tested further.

Copies of the questionnaires in their final form may be found in Appendix A, pages 148 through 162.

The Administration of the Questionnaire

As had been previously noted, the first step in administering the questionnaires was the presentation of the pastors' questionnaires to ministers or clerks of sessions. Two steps were taken to gain a favorable reception for the questionnaire. The first was an appeal to the General Council of the Presbytery for official approval of the conduct of the study within its jurisdiction. This appeal was treated favorably by the council, which also voted to recommend cooperation to members of the presbytery and to provide a cover letter for the questionnaire stating this recommendation.

The next step in gaining approval was not planned in advance, but proved most fortuitous. This occurred at the next regular meeting of the presbytery, which the author happened to be attending as a delegate from her own congregation. The council's action concerning the study was reported to the presbytery, and in answer to a question from the floor the author was asked to "say a few words" to the group about the study. A short explanation was given, and several specific questions answered. The presbytery then voted as a whole to approve the conduct of the study. An effort was made in the presentation at this meeting and in the letter written to the council to state the nature of the study in sufficient detail to justify it, without prejudicing results by indicating desired responses.

A cover letter was sent from the office of the stated clerk of the presbytery to all senior ministers and stated supplies of churches so supplied, and clerks of session in churches without ministerial leadership. A copy of this letter may be seen in Appendix B, page 164.

Four to five days later the questionnaire was mailed to the same list of respondents, accompanied by a cover letter by the researcher (Appendix B, page 165). Another copy of the letter from the stated clerk was included, in case respondents had failed to read the first or required identification of this as the study which he had mentioned.

Some responses were returned almost immediately. A standard follow-up letter had been planned, but when three of the early respondents returned questionnaires which were defective (one page was blank) a second letter was sent off immediately to all who had not yet responded, apprising them of this difficulty, and enclosing a post card to be returned by respondents who found themselves in possession of a defective questionnaire, asking for another. (Copies of this letter and the post card may be seen in Appendix B, pages 167 and 176 respectively.) New questionnaires were also sent those respondents who had returned defective ones, and in every case they completed the added material. Most ministers responded without further contact, and only one response was a direct refusal. Those who had not returned questionnaires at the instigation of these contacts were sent personal letters or contacted by telephone or in person--in some cases all these ways.

In the meantime, as each pastor's questionnaire came in with the list of members of the congregational sample, questionnaires were sent to sample members and to session members in that congregation, whose names had already been taken from presbytery records. Since favorable contact with the minister had preceded these mailings, no legitimating cover letter was deemed necessary. The questionnaire with its accompanying letter made the first contact, although that letter did cite the minister as a reference if the respondent needed legitimating evidence. (Cover letters to session members and to members of the congregational sample may be found in Appendix B, pages 171 and 173). In order to have both a record of non-returns for further contact and a method of assuring anonymity of questionnaires, a post card was included with the questionnaire and its return envelope. This card was to be signed and mailed separately, stating that the respondent had returned his questionnaire. (See Appendix B, page 176). This method is another of those borrowed from the research methods of Glock and Stark.[3]

If the post card had not been received within a week, a second letter was sent each respondent. (See Appendix B, pages 172 and 174).

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[3] Ibid., p. 238.

If at the end of another week it had still not been received, a third letter was sent, and enclosed in this letter was another questionnaire, envelope, and post card. After 10 days to two weeks more, those who had not replied, or who had sent refusals, were listed on a form requesting ministers to supply face data on non-respondents. (Appendix B, page 168.) While ministers were simply thanked for their help and not formally requested to contact delinquent members of their sample, a few questionnaires came in soon after this contact was made, probably at their instigation. As soon as the completed form was returned by the minister, the data from the congregation was compiled and analysis begun.

Each congregation was contacted on its own time schedule, according to the time of receipt of the pastor's questionnaire and the mailing list of the congregational sample. Since this work could progress while other pastors were still in the category of non-respondents, the study was kept open for about four months for pastoral replies. During this time, moderators of congregations without pastors which had not responded were contacted, and non-respondent ministers were sent another letter, contacted once again personally when at all possible, and also subjected to one more appeal at a presbytery meeting where the author was asked to give a progress report.

Upon compilation of the data from the congregation, the pastor was supplied a report of the findings within his congregation, using relevant pages of the session questionnaire and the letter which can be found in Appendix B, page 169.

Response from Pastors

Of the 37 congregations in the presbytery, 32 pastors or clerks of sessions returned pastor's questionnaires and mailing lists of their members. An analysis of the congregations which were not represented because their pastors did not return questionnaires and mailing lists shows that, so far as background characteristics are concerned, little of the variability of the presbytery was lost. Of the five congregations which did not participate, two are located in cities of over 12,000. Both of these congregations are between 750 and 1000 in size. One is located in the more agrarian eastern end of the presbytery, the other in the "metropolitan strip" north of Denver. Two are located in small towns of less than 2500. Again, one is in the eastern part of the presbytery, and the other on the edge of the "metropolitan strip." Both fall within the moderate range of size as represented in the presbytery--one is slightly less than 200 in number, the other somewhat less than 350. The fifth is a small mountain congregation of less than 100, and since two others similarly situated are represented, its loss should not leave too great a gap in the data. In general, then, the loss of these congregations would not appear to reduce the expected variability of the sample.

Questionnaire Return: Respondents and Non-Respondents

Among the 32 congregations whose pastors or clerks did respond, questionnaires were sent to 323 session members--the entire listing of session members of those churches as reported to the presbytery in data sheets for the current year. Mailing lists provided by pastors according to the instructions sent them totaled 304 respondents. Final returns from session members totaled 240, or 74.3 percent of the original list. Congregation members returned 256 questionnaires, or 84.2 percent of the sample. Returns from individual congregations varied from 33 percent to 100 percent, from sessions from 0 to 100 percent. A breakdown of returns by congregation may be found in Appendix C, Table 1, page 178.

The percentage return was somewhat disappointing when compared with results of studies using similar methods. However, the nature of the questions is such that a lower expectancy of return may be permitted. First, many of the questions covered matters considered highly personal by many respondents. Also, the demand for a forced choice among imperfect alternatives was quite frustrating to many. Some of the comments returned with the questionnaires point up this difficulty. Perhaps the most negative refusal was the following:

> How we believe in God is our own personal business and not for anyone's eyes or discussions. I filed your questionnaire when I received it. So sorry Charlie!!! There is no need for further correspondence on this matter.

Many session members found it very difficult to rank statements according to their emphasis in the congregation, and some refused to do this part of the questionnaire. A number of respondents indicated changes they would like to make in specific items, or commented on ambiguities or the incompleteness of certain items. Others simply indicated that they found the questionnaire too time consuming, or that they had grave doubts as to the utility of such a study. In all these cases, some of those who stated their reservations went on and completed the questionnaire; others refused.

On the other hand, a number of respondents indicated great enthusiasm for the project, wished the researcher well, asked for results, or described ways in which thinking through their answers had led to interesting group discussions or private re-thinking on religious subjects. Whether any amount of individual encouragement or discouragement was given fellow respondents by those highly in favor of or strongly opposed to the study is not known. It is known that some of the ministers continued to encourage their members to respond, and that in some cases they were successful.

Returns from churches of 300 or over tended to be slightly lower than the average, with 73 percent of the session members and 80 percent of the congregation sample reporting. Also, returns from the larger towns and cities tended to be slightly less for members of the congregation sample, with a 76 percent from congregations located in cities of over 25,000. However, session members from these cities were better respondents proportionately, with 82 percent returning their questionnaires.

An analysis of individual characteristics of non-respondents as reported by their pastors and compared with characteristics of respondents shows that there is some under-representation of higher status session members, lower status congregation members, and congregation members whose attendance at church services is minimal. (See Appendix C, Table 2, page 179.) Since the last of these items results in the elimination of those whose responses would reflect the least chance of churchly effect upon members, the only serious caveat which must be stated is that of the loss of some of those session members whose high status may be the cause of "busyness" which can lead to non-respondence--and which might be significant in measuring either congregational or community involvement--and congregational members whose low status may include low levels of education and hence real difficulties with the questionnaire.

In all, the assumption is made that for purposes of an exploratory study, the presbytery is adequately represented by those who responded to the mailed questionnaires.

Statistical Methods

The exploratory nature of the study requires little measurement of the data other than that of directionality. No predictions of the exact extent of influence were planned; rather, the aim was the detection of any influence and its direction. For this reason, and also because the type of data could not support many forms of treatment, no sophisticated statistical treatments were planned.

Only two specific measurements were deemed necessary to the ideological material, other than the simple additive computation of rank order of choices. The first of these was a measure of the consistency of response concerning the beliefs and attitudes taught by the congregation which was received from pastors and session members. Obviously, if an attempt is made to measure a group's ability to influence its members, it is important to have some clue as to the strength of that influence at its source. Either an additive or an averaged measure of the ranking provided by pastors and officers may mean little if it is the result of combining widely varying responses. At the same time, the nature of the data precluded many of the standard measures of dispersion and variability. No statistical inference based upon the assumption of an equal-interval scale could be legitimately applied to the sort of items provided on this questionnaire. For this reason, Kendall's Coefficient of Concordance (Kendall's W), a non-parametric measure of consistency based upon a rank-order scale, was chosen as the test statistic for computing consistency within the congregational profile. This measure carries with it a test of significance which provides a cut-off point in judging whether data may properly be used as a basis for further analysis and generalization. Also, Kendall's W can be used with as few as three items and a sample number as small as three, both of which became important before the analysis was completed.

The second statistical tool deemed necessary was some sort of comparative measure of distance between congregation members' responses and the profile of their congregation provided by their pastors and sessions. Since this was not to be used for further generalization, but only for comparison, a "C" (consensus) score was devised, which simply amounted to an arithmetic mean of the rank order profile score of choices made by congregation members. That is, if all congregation members chose the item ranked first in the profile presented by pastors and session members, the "C" score would be 1.00. If half chose the first ranked item and half chose that ranked third, the "C" score would be 2.00. Such a score was considered helpful in gross comparisons between items or congregations, but it is not defensible for further generalization on the same basis that parametric statistics were rejected in favor of the "W" score. For this reason, use of the "C" score was limited in the analysis, and should be used with care in interpreting the findings.

All other statistical tests, which involved members of activities, comparative face data, and the like, were made through the use of traditional tests--the T test for differences between means of scaled data, or the chi-square for tests of significance in grouped data. The specific application of these measures, as well as the method of scoring the anomie scale, will be treated as findings from various portions of the questionnaires are treated.

Chapter V

THE STUDY: ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Responses to Doctrinal and Attitudinal Questions: A Pattern and its Deviant Forms

In an attempt to find the pattern most representative of the religious emphasis of the congregations of the presbytery, the responses of pastors and sessions of each congregation were combined to provide a rank order of preference for each item in the "doctrinal" and "consequential attitude" part of the questionnaire. This was done through a simple summation of the rank given each item by respondents. In the assumption that ministers who have been for a long time the head of a particular congregation would both be more knowledgeable and more influential in the emphasis of their congregations, a weighting system was used in regard to pastoral responses. Those who had been pastor of their congregation three years or less were considered on an equal basis with members of their sessions, whose term of office is customarily three years. For those whose tenure exceeded that length of time, the pastor's response was given an additional counting for each additional three-year period or portion thereof, up to the limit that his response must not outweigh the total session response.

In most churches, the pattern of response on doctrinal items was very similar, and seemed in keeping with the common cultural assumptions of what Protestant churches teach. This led to the acceptance of this pattern as that of the "mainstream" of the presbytery. In general, the pattern on those questions concerning doctrine which only pastors and session members were asked to rank was as follows (combining the highest ranked items in each section):

> God is a force both within and beyond man, who is involved in human affairs, though above them. Jesus is the Son of God, miraculously conceived by the Holy Spirit, and born of the Virgin Mary. There is a life after death, for which this life is but a preparation. As for evil, most things that are bad in this world stem from individual actions and choices. The Bible was written by men inspired by God to say what He wanted them to say.

It may be rather quickly noted that these responses are fairly orthodox, so that any deviation from the pattern in the direction of orthodoxy, or what has been defined as a more "sacred" orientation, would be minimal. However, three congregations in the presbytery did report deviations in this direction on the subject of evil, maintaining a stronger orientation toward a personalized devil than was expressed by the "mainstream." Again, a number found their definition of God in the more pietistic statement defining him as personal friend and companion.

In the consideration of those items of consequential attitude, where both session members and congregation members were asked to rank items, patterns also emerged. The three-item section on "Changes in World and Community," which had been included as a sort of check upon the original hypothesis of three categories of church emphasis, revealed perhaps some of the most interesting facets. In only five cases did the second choice, "Christian faith helps us to survive and make use of the changing situations in which we find ourselves," not receive highest rank, whether in the profile, in individual session responses, or in individual member rankings. In four of these five, the first-ranked item was, "Most of the changes in the world around us today are leading us farther from the simple gospel and a godly life." In the one case where the presumed "secular" item, "God is Lord of history, and we work with Him when we try to change things in the world," was rated highest, the score was not statistically significant, and the pastoral response was heavily rated due to long tenure. Yet, of the 28 pastors responding on this item, 20 ranked the third choice ("God is Lord of history . . .") as the one most emphasized in their church.

Concerning the practice of the Christian life, the highest ranked item in the "mainstream" pattern was regular and frequent prayer and Bible reading, followed closely by showing kindness and love to others. Also ranked high were regular church attendance and evangelistic efforts. Least important (or most unacceptable) was the item which can be interpreted as the popular definition of the Protestant Ethic--to be responsible, hard-working, and thrifty. Within this same area, the profile of local churches did not put great emphasis upon the importance of avoiding such immoral behavior as dishonesty and uncleanness, but members of the congregations indicated that they felt this to be a fairly important aspect of the Christian life. Near the bottom of this ranking are such duties of citizenship as voting and running for public office. Again, a difference developed between pastoral responses and the grouped responses, although in this case not quite so marked a one as on the subject to social change. While half the pastors ranked the item, "A Christian should be servant of all," as one of their three top choices, in only one set of grouped responses was this item placed that high.

As far as the church itself is concerned, its highest ranked role was to provide a gathering place where God's people may have worship and fellowship, and where the faith is taught. The least important (or most unacceptable) of the items listed as possible roles of the church is that of speaking out in international affairs as an organization which transcends national boundaries and interests. Also unimportant or unacceptable is political activity on the part of the church, whether in the cause of personal morality such as prevention of drunkenness or sexual license, or such issues of public morality as civil rights. Differences between pastors and their people on this item were less noticeable. While 16 pastors ranked first or second the item, "The Church prepares its members to go out to serve the world," which did not gain high ratings in the full sample, they did have considerable support in session and congregation samples in some cases.

The rankings given in the profiles and by individual and session member questionnaires may be found in Appendix D, pages 181 to 192. Pastor's rankings on these items may also be found in Appendix D, on pages 193 to 200.

Deviants from the mainstream of doctrinal ranking were identified by noting those churches whose high or low ranks differed from the mainstream on each item, and counting those whose deviations were in the direction of the "sacred," as defined before the items were constructed, as deviant congregations if they differed in two or more areas. "Secular" deviants were expected to deviate in that direction on three or more counts, since there was so much more opportunity for deviation in that direction. "Sacred" deviants, along with the dictrinal deviations previously mentioned--a pietistic definition of God, a personal devil--also tended to see the chief role of the church as that of providing a haven of security in a troubled world, and to be the ones who ranked highest the item on change which said that we are being led away from a godly life and the simple Gospel.

Response patterns of the "secular" deviants tended to vary considerably more. For this reason, a full statement of the pattern of each of these six congregations, as well as of the one congregation which met the standards for being a deviant in both directions (and hence was included in none of the groupings), may be found in Appendix E, pages 202 to 209.

Program Differences

Three types of reporting on local congregational programs as a whole were asked of pastors. The first was a listing of organizations and meetings considered part of the regular church program, and a ranking of their functions. Some differences in program at this level did appear. Although it could be hypothesized that many functions performed informally in a small congregation should be more formally organized in large ones, so that there would be a direct correlation between size and numbers of meetings and groups, this held true only in the cases of congregations of 850 or more. In congregations of less size, no consistent relationship between size and numbers of groups and meetings could be seen. Some of the variations in numbers are probably the result of differences in definition of what is and is not part of the regular program of a congregation. Unfortunately, the nature of the data does not provide an opportunity to investigate whether this difference in definition lies with the reporting minister, the persons or traditions involved in the creation of the church calendar, or an enduring difference in the perspective of the congregation concerning legitimate activities for a local church. Gross differences in the sorts of things listed, however, should indicate the last of these to some extent.

There were no great differences between the church types in sheer number of meetings and groups listed. "Mainstream" churches had slightly more on the whole, but since all those churches over 850 which have been pointed out as having numbers of organizations proportional to their size were in the "mainstream," this has little bearing. The mean number for "mainstream" congregations was 11, as was the median. "Secular" congregations listed a mean of 9, with a median of 9, and "sacred" churches averaged 9, with a median of 9. Similarly, differences in the total accent of groups was negligible, with study and service generally predominating. One pattern which tended to emerge, though hardly in an overwhelming manner, was a tendency on the part of the "mainstream," and only the "mainstream," to list as the chief function of their choirs that of service. This listing occurred in about one-third of the "mainstream" reports, and may indicate a more general trend to define as service that which is of value to the organizational functioning of the congregation. This was also repeated as a function of church boards, and here extended into the "sacred" congregations, but in no "secular" church did these internal activities merit the term "service" as their first function.

In general, most of the congregations appear to offer the sort of broad, varied organizational program which is both decried and applauded in contemporary studies of the American church. All congregations offered at least one worship service on Sunday, and nearly all had some sort of church school. Most had choirs, women's organizations, youth groups, and the like. Many had men's groups, special study groups, and such peripheral groups as Boy Scouts listed as part of their program. All have church boards of various kinds and sizes, though a few failed to list these as part of the regular program--possibly because their meetings are not that regular. A rather bureaucratic organization with a good deal of specialization of function among a number of sub-organizations could be found in all but the smallest congregations. In general, large urban congregations offered more and more specialized organizations, but some rural churches provided an impressive list, including everything from study groups to a cattle feeders' organization. The most marked deviation from the general pattern which could not be attributed to size or specific location of the congregation occurred in the youngest of the "secular" churches, and also in mixed form in at least two other "secular" congregations. This was a set of special "study-involvement," "service," or "task-oriented" groups or teams, which in many ways cut across traditional organizational frameworks. A group with a special task before it was expected to meet for study of its task and the Christian approach to it, and to provide a social base for members' involvement in the particular social area in which the task was to be performed. The implications of this sort of organization were spelled out by a committee of one of these churches as follows:

> What does it mean to be a "Servant Church?"
>
> (a) The members of a servant church minister to each other.

> (b) The members of a servant church tune their individual consciences to serving others outside the [local congregation].
> (c) The members of a servant church recognize the necessity for corporate service, by the congregation, that no one can accomplish individually.
>
> In response to the answers above, the Steering Committee unanimously adopted the following motion: "That the mission of [this congregation] is to be responsive to and become involved in community needs."

The church from which this statement comes has very little other organization except these groups and coordinating machinery--and provision for regular weekly worship.

It is of interest to note that the three "secular" churches in which such groups are organized are all among the 10 whose congregational samples ranked the "servant role" of the church in the upper half of their choices of roles for the church. One of the other churches whose congregation was among that same 10 who ranked in the upper half the statement that the church should "train its members to go out to serve the world," although its overall emphasis did not place it within the profile of the "secular" group, has similar teams in its organizational framework.

The second listing asked of pastors was that of activities or organizations outside the regular framework of the congregation in which their members were encouraged to participate as a part of their Christian witness. The range of such activities was wide, and the number was impressive. No real differences emerged between reports from "secular" and "mainstream" churches. Activities listed included working with the elderly and youth, assisting such organizations as United Fund, Red Cross, the YMCA, and the like, working with welfare families, Head Start programs, hospitals, jails, juvenile homes, migrant workers, and the like. Political activity was encouraged, usually on an individual basis, either in voting or in office holding. Community improvement included serving on town or city councils, fire boards, water boards, school boards, etc. One "secular" congregation included the practice of individual vocations as a service of Christian witness to the community--the traditional Protestant Ethic from which later developed the more crass glorification of success to which that appellation is now often given.

It must be noted that these activities are those reported by the pastor, but since the question refers to things people are encouraged to do within the congregation, it may be assumed that in his capacity as preacher and organizer he provides a good deal of such encouragement personally.

The report of pastors from "sacred" congregations in this matter was quite different. Half these congregations reported no such activities. Those listed by the others included, with one exception, only non-denominational but highly religion-oriented groups such as Gideons and Young Life. The exception was the provision of Bingo games in a home for the aged by the ladies of the church.

The third listing concerning program was that of particular programs or activities during the past year considered most meaningful by the pastor. Again, "mainstream" and "secular" congregations showed little difference. Many of the activities were the same ones listed as those which people were encouraged to take part in in the community. Others included were worship services, special programs and study groups, special offerings and drives, and a number of cooperative activities with congregations within or outside the denomination.

"Sacred" congregations remained within the framework of expectations, with a concentration on what had gone on "within the walls"--special worship services, youth meetings, and the like. The most "outgoing" activity listed was a community choir, which can be assumed to have involved contact with other congregations in the community. It must be noted once again that these reports reflect ministers' perspectives only. A definite difference, though, does emerge in those activities upon which that perspective can be exercised, between "sacred" and other congregations. This difference supports the hypothesis that activities of such groups will reinforce the inward-looking type of ideology they provide.

It also may be noted that in any case it will be a rare minister who will list as "most meaningful" an activity from which there was no positive response elicited within the congregation. It takes a certain amount of positive feedback to make an activity meaningful in this context.

Consensus Scores

One comparison between the three types delineated is that of the internal consistency of the profiles of emphasis reported by pastors and sessions. In view of the dangers inherent in further statistical manipulation of the "C" scores, and in order to have an understanding both of central tendencies and of extremes of variation, comparisons were made on the basis of ranges and median scores. The complete presentation of ranges and medians of the profiles, and also of the "C" and "W" scores for session and congregation member responses may be found in Tables V-1 to V-4. It should be noted that, while a

TABLE V-1

RANGES OF CONSENSUS ON DOCTRINAL QUESTIONS BY TYPE OF CONGREGATION

Subject	Type	Profile W[1]	Session C[2]	Congregation C[3]
God	Sacred	.27-.64	1.19-2.00	1.75-2.80
	Secular	.34-.72	1.67-2.58	1.60-3.67
	Mainstream	.25-.82	1.25-3.11	1.75-3.00
Christ	Sacred	.58-.81	1.20-1.69	1.16-1.67
	Secular	.47-.88	1.67-2.00	1.56-3.40
	Mainstream	.38-1.00	1.00-2.00	1.00-2.23
This Life and the Next	Sacred	.51-.70	1.40-2.13	1.00-1.67
	Secular	.41-.72	1.92-3.80	1.89-3.33
	Mainstream	.22-.92	1.17-2.58	1.00-2.67
Sin and Evil	Sacred	.45-.56	1.50-3.00	1.20-2.29
	Secular	.28-.57	1.55-3.25	1.90-3.20
	Mainstream	.13-.61	1.33-3.00	1.29-3.13
The Bible	Sacred	.61-.84	1.20-2.20	1.60-1.88
	Secular	.47-.80	1.14-1.91	1.17-2.56
	Mainstream	.38-.89	1.37-2.29	1.38-2.33

[1] On the basis of responses of pastors and sessions, ranking the items as taught in the congregation. A score of 1.00 would indicate perfect agreement, with a possible range of 0.00 to 1.00.

[2] On the basis of items checked by session members as most nearly reflecting their personal views. A score of 1.00 would indicate perfect agreement, with a possible range of 1.00 to 5.00.

[3] Computed in the same way as "Session C" scores, on the basis of items checked by congregation members as most nearly reflecting their views.

TABLE V-2

RANGES OF CONSENSUS ON CONSEQUENTIAL ATTITUDES BY TYPE OF CONGREGATION

Subject	Type	Profile W[1]	Session W[2]	Congregation W[3]
Christian Life	Sacred	.25-.82	.28-.85	.33-.73
	Secular	.13-.71	.13-.48	.12-.42
	Mainstream	.13-.87	.11-.66	.11-.69
Role of the Church	Sacred	.41-.62	.33-.75	.33-.68
	Secular	.32-.69	.18-.56	.12-.37
	Mainstream	.16-.90	.12-.86	.03-.74
Changes in World and Community	Sacred	.31-.77	.43-.77	.43-.73
	Secular	.19-.55	.33-.48	.21-.84
	Mainstream	.01-.78	.07-.86	.12-.76

[1] On the basis of responses of pastors and sessions, ranking the items as taught in the congregation. A score of 1.00 would indicate perfect agreement, with a possible range of 0.00 to 1.00.

[2] Computed in the same way as "Profile W," on the basis of items ranked by session members according to their acceptability to them personally.

[3] Computed in the same way as "Session W," on the basis of items ranked by congregation members.

TABLE V-3

MEDIAN CONSENSUS SCORES ON DOCTRINAL ITEMS

Subject	Type	Profile W^1	Session C^2	Congregation C^3
God	Sacred	.63	1.78	2.18
	Secular	.54	2.00	2.25
	Mainstream	.56	2.00	2.25
Christ	Sacred	.71	1.34	1.34
	Secular	.55	1.75	2.00
	Mainstream	.66	1.50	1.50
This Life and the Next	Sacred	.68	1.94	1.44
	Secular	.66	2.07	2.92
	Mainstream	.65	1.83	1.85
Sin and Evil	Sacred	.55	1.80	1.44
	Secular	.43	2.19	2.88
	Mainstream	.36	2.22	2.26
The Bible	Sacred	.65	1.70	1.75
	Secular	.74	1.66	1.87
	Mainstream	.70	1.67	1.75

[1] On the basis of responses of pastors and sessions, ranking the items as taught in the congregation. A score of 1.00 would indicate perfect agreement, with a possible range of 0.00 to 1.00.

[2] On the basis of items checked by session members as most nearly reflecting their personal views. A score of 1.00 would indicate perfect agreement, with a possible range of 1.00 to 5.00

[3] Computed in the same way as "Session C" scores, on the basis of items checked by congregation members as most nearly reflecting their views.

TABLE V-4

MEDIAN CONSENSUS SCORES ON CONSEQUENTIAL ATTITUDES

Subject	Type	Profile W[1]	Session W[2]	Congregation W[3]
Christian Life	Sacred	.56	.50	.61
	Secular	.41	.26	.29
	Mainstream	.37	.34	.31
Role of the Church	Sacred	.54	.56	.44
	Secular	.53	.42	.21
	Mainstream	.43	.36	.46
Changes in World and Community	Sacred	.67	.54	.44
	Secular	.50	.41	.38
	Mainstream	.23	.38	.44

[1] On the basis of responses of pastors and sessions, ranking the items as taught in the congregation. A score of 1.00 would indicate perfect agreement, with a possible range of 0.00 to 1.00.

[2] Computed in the same way as "Profile W," on the basis of items ranked by session members according to their acceptability to them personally.

[3] Computed in the same way as "Session W," on the basis of items ranked by congregation members.

higher "W" score indicates greater consensus, "C" scores which are lower indicate more consensus.

As may be seen, in the profiles given by pastors and session, in every case the "mainstream" churches offer both higher and lower extremes of consensus than either the "secular" or "sacred" churches. Comparisons according to medians show somewhat less consistency, though in most cases, "sacred" churches showed the highest consistency, "secular" lowest, with the "mainstream" somewhere between. All variations from this pattern except one show "sacred" churches still with the greatest consensus, but "mainstream" lowest and "secular" in the middle. The one exception is on the subject of the Bible, where "secular" churches show the highest amount of consensus, followed by the "sacred" and the "mainstream."

In general, then, it may be stated that consensus among members of church boards and their pastors as to what was being taught and emphasized in the congregation was highest among those who presented a "sacred" profile, lowest in most cases for those who presented a "secular" profile, and varied most widely among the "mainstream" congregations.

A somewhat different pattern emerges when consideration is turned to the response of session members as individuals to the profile which they and their pastor have presented. Variation in ranges does tend to be patterned, however. Whenever the range of the "mainstream" churches does not encompass those of the other two types, the high extremes of consensus are shown by the "sacred" type, and the low by the "secular." Median scores show the "sacred" sessions most in agreement with the profile given on the subjects of God, Christ, sin and evil, the Christian life, the role of the church, and change. Only in the two cases of the Bible, where secular sessions showed more acceptance of the profile, and this life and the next, where mainstream sessions were most agreed, did this pattern vary.

Ranges among congregation "C" scores varied somewhat differently. In two cases it was the "secular" rather than "mainstream" churches which exhibited the widest range of scores--on the subjects of God and the Bible. Otherwise, either the "mainstream" exhibited greatest variation, or "sacred" once again varied more toward high consensus and "secular" toward low. The one exception was the subject of change, in which the "secular" congregations showed the highest tendency toward consensus. Medians showed more tied scores, but still in most "sacred" congregations showed highest consensus scores, "secular" lowest.

In analyzing the "C" scores of session members and congregation members only those were used whose profile "W" score met standards of statistical significance, because no defensible statement could be made that profiles based upon scores of no statistical significance were truly the teaching of that church to which people should be agreeing. In general, then, these scores would seem to indicate that if both "sacred" and "secular" churches are teaching and emphasizing beliefs and attitudes somewhat contrary to the culture, or to cultural expectations of what they should be teaching, the sacred churches are more successfully indoctrinating their members. The only way in which secular churches could find comfort in the data concerning these questions is in the consistency with which session members reported greater consensus than congregation members. If session members may be considered the most involved, this could indicate that over time involvement in the program of the church may lead to greater consensus throughout the congregation. Only a longitudinal test could really confirm this interpretation, however, for it is also quite possible to say that session members were simply agreeing to a perception of the church's teaching which they themselves had established through their answers to questionnaire items.

Participation Patterns

Attendance at regular services of worship did not vary greatly among the three types of congregations. On a scale in which attendance more than once a week was counted as four, once a week as three, at least once a month as two, and less than once a month as one, "sacred" sessions scored slightly higher, with a 3.5, while "mainstream" sessions scored 3.2 and "secular" sessions 3.0. Members of the congregational samples were also close in ratings, with "sacred" highest at 2.9, "mainstream" next with 2.7, and "secular" lowest with 2.6. The differences, such as they are (and they did not test statistically significant) are in the expected direction. However, the data here cannot be taken as accurately indicating differences in regularity in some cases, because of a tendency of "sacred" churches to hold more frequent worship services to be attended than are held by the other types.

This caution is less necessary when groups and organizations within the church are considered, although there was considerable variation in the number of such organizations offered in local programs. In general, these variations occurred as much within categories as between them, and so may have cancelled out any effect in overall comparison.

In quantifying answers to the section in the questionnaire concerning church-related and non-church-related group membership, attendance, and leadership, a scale was devised in which one point was counted for membership in any such group, two additional points for attendance at more than half its meetings, and another two for having held office within the past three years. On session questionnaires points were not given for being a member of the session, since this was common to all respondents with this questionnaire.

Originally it was planned to make two categories of the non-church-related memberships--those mentioned by the pastor as activities encouraged in their congregation as part of their witness, and those having received no such mention. However, difficulties encountered in equating the specific memberships of respondents with some of the generalities of their pastors, plus a growing feeling that categorization according to the pastor's word alone on these matters might be artificial, led to the abandonment of the distinction. Thus a two-fold classification of participation was left--participation in church organizations and in non-church-related ones.

Members of sessions of "sacred" and "secular" congregations tied with the lower participation rate in church-related organizations, with mean scores of 6.2. "Mainstream" sessions scored somewhat higher, with 6.9, but the difference did not prove statistically significant. In organizations which were not church related, the direction of difference was not that which would have been predicted by the theory. Members of sessions of "sacred" churches, instead of withdrawing into congregational activity, as might have been expected, showed the highest mean participation rate in outside organizations, with 7.9. "Mainstream" sessions scored 6.2, and "secular" sessions 6.7. While these differences do not meet standards of statistical significance, the reverse direction is worth noting, especially since the score of the "sacred" sessions represents a rather consistent rating, their range being from 7.3 to 8.8, while "secular" sessions varied from 3.3 to 11.3, and "mainstream" ones from .3 to 15.6.

The participation rates of members of the congregation samples showed a different pattern. Non-church-related participation was highest among members of "mainstream" congregations, with a mean of 5.1, lowest in "sacred" congregations with 3.9, and in "secular" congregations averaged 4.2. The greatest difference, however, was in participation in church-related organizations, where "sacred" members rated 7.6, "mainstream" 5.4, and "secular" 4.4. While these once again did not meet standards of statistical significance, an indication of directionality is reinforced in a consideration of the ranges of the three groups. In church-related organizations, "sacred" participation scores ranged from 5.8 to 9.5, and "secular" from 2.6 to 6.3, with only one "secular" congregation overlapping the "sacred" range. The "mainstream" ranged from 1.6 to 9.0, encompassing all means of both the other categories--except the highest "sacred" score.

In viewing the data from both worship attendance and organizational participation, indications are that, while "sacred" congregations tend to function as theoretically expected in providing a focus for involvement for their members within the boundaries of the local church, their leadership is rather highly involved in activities outside those boundaries as well as within them. "Secular" congregations and leaders do not live up to the theoretical expectations of higher involvement in activities outside the church itself. Of course, in both these cases, no distinctions have been made as to the quality of involvement, the particular type of group; but quantitatively the direction is quite clear.

Personal Meaning of Religion

Some differences in patterns of response emerged in the question asking respondents to "check the statement which most fully describes the place you feel religion holds in your personal life." Responses from the congregational sample by type of church in which membership is held may be seen in Table V-5 on the following page.

As may be seen, both "mainstream" and "secular" respondents tended to favor the "ideological" meaning, but second choice for more "mainstream" respondents was found in the "pietistic" statement, with "secular" respondents picking as second choice the "sustaining" definition. "Sacred" respondents preferred the "pietistic" choice in large percentage, and were also more likely to make the "zealous" choice and avoid the "social" one. Differences in these response patterns as shown tested statistically significant at the .05 level on a chi-square.

Theoretical expectations were supported to the extent that "sacred" congregations appear to define religion somewhat more individualistically--assuming that the pietistic choice as compared with the ideological may be so interpreted. Also, the differences in second rating concerning pietistic choices between "mainstream" and "secular" churches may indicate that "secular" congregations here reflect some of the movement away from an individualistic interpretation

TABLE V-5

PERSONAL MEANING OF RELIGION

Choice[a]	Mainstream	Percent Choosing Secular	Sacred
1. Peripheral	3.8	4.0	3.2
2. Habitual	15.5	15.2	9.7
3. Sustaining	14.2	23.9	16.1
4. Social	10.9	10.9	3.2
5. Pietistic	21.8	15.2	45.2
6. Ideological	31.0	30.4	12.9
7. Zealous	3.0	0.0	9.7

[a] Full wording on the items is as follows:

1. (Peripheral) My membership in the church has little meaning for me, but exists because of habit or because others expect it of me.
2. (Habitual) Religion is to me a pleasant habit which enriches my life through its fellowship and teachings.
3. (Sustaining) Religion for me is the underlying foundation which sustains me when things go wrong.
4. (Social) The practice of religion brings to me my most rewarding experiences and friendships.
5. (Pietistic) In my religion I have found a Friend who sustains, encourages, and comforts me.
6. (Ideological) My religion provides the purpose for my life, in all its activities and relationships.
7. (Zealous) My religion is my whole life.

of religion as would be expected of "secular" believers. "Sacred" members also seem somewhat more willing to make religion their whole life, and less willing to see in it a fellowship and social function. However, the generally greater differences are not between questions which would clearly indicate differences in the seriousness with which religion is taken, but rather with the way it is defined.

Anomie Scores

Congregation members' answers to the anomie scale were scored as shown in parentheses on the copy of the questionnaire, Appendix A, page in which higher scores indicate a greater amount of anomie. Members of "sacred" congregations averaged highest at 15.38, with "mainstream" respondents next at 15.04, and "secular" congregations at 14.32. These differences did not prove statistically significant. A slight directionality might be assumed in that the range of "mainstream" means does not quite reach the lowest of the "secular" nor the highest of the "sacred" means.

The meaning of the differences, such as they are, in the scores of the three types, is further clouded by lack of any way of assessing whether membership in different types of churches is more likely to be a cause or a result of different levels of anomie. Since a total of 35 points was possible, none of the means, and few of the individual respondents, rated very anomic. This is in keeping with the theoretical model, which offered functions in personal integration for all types of churches, although their bases were different.

The highest individual anomie score (28) went to a teenager who was on the roll of one of the "mainstream" churches but claimed membership in another, who rated his church membership as what was classified above as "peripheral," and whose attendance was minimal. Perhaps the most anomic response came from an 80-year-old who refused to fill in more than the face data, saying "With all of the awful things going on in the world I don't know to what thing I want to commit myself." Her pastor reported that she never attended services.

Yet not all anomic respondents were peripheral members. Taking as anomic any scores over 21, since that score would represent the highest possible of attainment with positive or uncertain responses on any of the items, 11 other respondents tendered such answers. All of these stated that they attended services at least once a month, and most of them attended weekly. Many also participated to some extent in other church-related organizations. Seven of these anomic respondents were members of "mainstream" churches. They represented a fairly wide range of ages (16 to 69) and occupations (a manager, a farmer, a small businessman, a student, and three retired persons). The most consistent finding concerning these "mainstream" respondents whose scores could be classified as anomic was that all of them were members of congregations of over 350 members.

By contrast, the three anomic responses from "secular" congregations came from persons in their middle years, with no pattern regarding size of congregation. The one thing which these respondents had in common was an occupational status lower than that generally represented in their congregations. One was a salesman, one a factory worker, and one in a clerical occupation.

Only one respondent from a "sacred" congregation scored in the anomic range, even though as a whole this type of congregation averaged higher on the anomie scale. Once again, this anomic respondent was a high school student.

In general, then, it would be difficult to attribute differences in anomie scores to congregational influences, unless an assumption is made that church participation reduces anomie. In that case, it could be argued that the size (and so, presumably, the greater impersonality) of "mainstream" congregations prevented that effect, and that the particular emphasis and program of the "secular" churches is less effective than those of the others in reducing anomie among low status members. It may also be argued that "secular" churches might be expected to increase anomie of members, in their attempt to point up current social problems to which they feel the church should address itself. However, this effect, then, should not be class-linked. Any of these arguments would need substantiation which cannot be provided by the data at hand.

It is also somewhat disturbing--and difficult to interpret--that the rate of anomie in this very limited sample seems to be so much higher among teenagers. Of 256 congregation members' questionnaires, only 12, or 4.7 percent, returned responses to the anomie scale which could be considered anomic. Yet of these 12, three were sent by respondents under 18 years of age, of whom there were only 15 in the total sample--a 20 percent anomic response. Of course, this is a very small number for generalization, but the difference is great. Once again there is no evidence as to whether such responses speak of a common condition of youth in our society, as claimed by many modern observers, or whether anomic youth are more likely to be linked with the church, or whether churches are so effective in reducing anomie that what is shown here is simply related to their shorter duration of church membership. It would certainly seem to be stretching for meaning to take either of the last two explanations as really being shown by the data. The smallness of the percentage of anomic responses in the total sample would, however, lend no support to those who say that among adults only the anomic seek out religious affiliation these days.

Possible Other Sources of Variation

Once again following methods used by Glock and Stark in their investigation of the relationship between teachings of Christian churches and anti-semitism, an analysis was made of the relationship between responses and possible explanatory variables other than the theological emphasis of the local congregation. The principle behind this sort of analysis is simply that, although the elimination of other possible explanations of differences does not prove the hypothesized variable to be causal, it does strengthen the case for it. Customarily attitudes toward social change have been found to be related to such social factors as age, socio-economic status, and rural or urban residence. Also, a number of studies have indicated that attitudes of this sort tend to be related to these variables as they apply to the community or the group even more than to the individual.[1] Consequently, the three types of churches were compared on the basis of such variables.

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[1] Perhaps the best example of this type of study is that done by Wendell Bell in the San Francisco area, where he found that the economic status of the neighborhood was more closely related to the anomie of its residents than any personal variable, reported in "Anomie, Social Isolation, and the Class Structure," Sociometry, Vol. 20 (June, 1957), pp. 105-116.

Age of members.--Within congregational samples no direct trends of response according to age could be found, except for a slight but persistent tendency in all types for more orthodox responses from those under 25 and over 60 than from those who were in the "mid-adult" range. A comparison of congregations according to mean age was made, using the congregational sample, since only that portion of the respondents had been randomly chosen. No statistically significant difference was found between the mean ages of the types of congregations, with "sacred" congregations averaging 47.2 years of age, "secular" 46.2, and "mainstream" 46.9. Ranges showed the lowest mean ages to be similar in "sacred" and "secular" congregations, with the former reaching as low as 30.2 and the latter 30.4. "Mainstream" congregations ranged in age from 34.2 to 62.5, their high exceeding those of the other two types, which reached 54.9 for the "sacred" and 59.3 for the "secular." In general, it may be stated that no consistent relationship was found between age of congregation and church type.

Occupational status.--The only measure of socio-economic status used was that of occupation. Chief reason for this single criterion was the fact that neither income nor educational level are as predictive of status in rural communities as is generally expected, and many of the churches in the presbytery are rural. Also, it was felt that questions such as those concerning income or education might be resented by respondents who could view other answers in the questionnaires as logically useful to their own congregation for its self-evaluation, rather than directed to a personal study. The problem of farm people in status rank remains, however, since no specific method was devised for separating large commercial owner-operators from "family farmers."

Consequently, the accompanying data on occupational status must be taken as a gross generalization rather than a well-defined scale.

A scale was set up, in which professionals such as doctors, lawyers, and scientists were rated 6, along with top executives; managers, engineers, executives other than top level were rated 5; teachers, technicians, nurses, college students, and retail store owners were rated 4; salesmen, farmers, clerical workers, and retired persons were given 3; skilled workmen 2; semi-skilled workmen 1. There were no unskilled workers in the sample. This scale is somewhat different from those usually used, mostly because it was an attempt to classify not only by occupation but by the amount of education required for it since this was not separately available, and yet has been shown in many cases to be related to such variables as orthodoxy and openness. Ratings were given on the occupation of the head of the household except in those rare cases of college students living at home, who were rated as students.

Applying this scale to both session and congregation respondents, a mean occupational status was found for the leadership and the "rank and file" of each congregation, and of each type. The occupational status of "sacred" sessions ranged from 2.5 to 3.6, with a mean of 3.1. For "mainstream" sessions the range was from 2.7 to 5.4, with a mean of 3.7; and "secular" sessions ranged from 3.4 to 5.5 and averaged 4.6. While the differences in the means did not reach statistical significance, the directionality of this variable was much more straightforward than in many other cases. There is a rather clear tendency for leadership of "sacred" congregations to be of lower occupational status than is found among "secular" leaders, with little overlap between ranges.

"Mainstream" sessions varied almost the total distance represented by the other two types, but did not score quite so low as "sacred" nor so high as "secular" sessions.

Differences were considerably less among members of the congregations of the three types, although the direction remained essentially the same. "Sacred" members averaged 3.3, "secular" 4.1, and "mainstream" 3.4. Again, "secular" congregations reached the highest point with 4.8, although the lowest congregational average for "secular" churches was the same as the lowest for "sacred" churches at 3.0. Two "mainstream" churches averaged lower than this, with 2.5 and 2.7 respectively. The highest scoring "sacred" church rated 4.2, "mainstream" 4.5. It is of interest to note that while "mainstream" and "secular" churches have as their chosen leaders a group of people whose occupational status is higher than that of the "followers," this is not true of the "sacred" type. This is primarily a figment of averages, however, for in individual churches, only one "sacred" congregation had a session with a lower occupational status than that of the members, and this was also true of one "secular" congregation and five "mainstream" churches.

It may be said that occupational status does appear slightly related to church type, especially in the case of the leadership of the churches. The relationship is in the direction which would be expected in theory, since persons of lower socio-economic background tend to be less tolerant of ambiguity, and more orthodox in belief.

Rural or urban background.--"Mainstream" churches, being the largest number and apparently the most culturally adapted, were predictably found in all sizes of towns and cities, and in open country areas as well. "Mainstream" congregations ranged in size from less than 20 to nearly 2500.

Three of the four churches classified as "sacred" were rural--one an open country church and two in small towns of under 2500. Two were located in the eastern half of the presbytery, where the influences of American urbanization are felt mainly through loss of population to other more urban areas. The other small town "sacred" church is located near the edge of the urbanizing strip along the eastern edge of the Rockies. The fourth "sacred" congregation was located in a small city of less than 25,000, in which it is one of two Presbyterian congregations. "Sacred" congregations ranged in size from about 75 to a little less than 350.

Churches rated as "secular" tended to be located in cities of some size, in which could be found more than one Presbyterian congregation, with one exception. This was a congregation of less than 100 located in a rather isolated mountain region, characterized by ranching, lumbering, tourist and ski trade, and retirement mountain homes. All but one of the other "secular" churches were located in the western and more urbanized end of the presbytery. One was located in a metropolitan suburb. Two others were located in cities of between 25,000 and 50,000, and two in cities of under 25,000. Congregations in this type ranged in size from less than 70 to over 800.

One church was not included in the totals of the types, because it could not be fit into any of the types. The profile given by pastor and session deviated from the "mainstream" sufficiently in the direction of the "sacred" to be classified as "sacred," yet also enough in the direction of the "secular" to be so classified. Its location was in a declining small farming community, and its response points up an ambiguity which occurred at lower levels in several other similarly situated congregations. Consensus in these congregations tended to be low. The questions of whether this reflects the greater heterogeneity found in churches sufficiently isolated that little choice of congregation is available to people who desire a church affiliation, or whether it reflects some of the rapid changes occurring in small towns due to out-migration, centralization of farming, etc., cannot be answered by these data. One thing is indicated: the assumption of great homogeneity and clarity of values in the isolated small town is not supported by these responses from small town churches.

In general, however, it may be stated that "sacred" churches seem more likely to be found in rural areas and "secular" in urban ones, and that in urban situations either may be more likely to occur in communities which have more than one congregation of the same denomination. None of these factors can be considered either necessary or sufficient for the prediction of church types, however.

Of the possible other explanatory variables, then, slight relationships were found to exist between occupational status and rural or urban background as factors in church type. Age seems to have little relationship to type of congregation. As is also true with the theological stance, none of these variables is found operating in every case, so as to be pointed out as the necessary and/or sufficient factor in congregation type or organization.

Individual Patterns

It has been generalized that the appearance of either a "sacred" or a "secular" type of congregation in a community of any size is somewhat more likely if the community has more than one congregation of the denomination. If the "mainstream" type of congregation is viewed as the one most likely to be a part of the "establishment"--the culturally bound, status-conferring religious institution--then it could be hypothesized that within such churches, where no "sacred" or "secular" congregation of one's preferred denomination is available, a core of persons of either or both of these types might exist within the congregation, their responses diluted by one another's, or by those of members whose involvement was of the extrinsic variety. With this in mind a search was made through the data for individual response patterns which might give indication of this sort of phenomenon.

Since there had appeared to be some relationship between an "ideological" response concerning the meaning of religion, a high ranking of the "servant" role for individual and church, and a favorable ranking for the item on change which was oriented toward active participation, as factors which set the "secular" type apart, "mainstream" samples were searched for individual respondents who showed this pattern. However, no discernible relationship could be found among individual's responses on these items. "Ideological" religious meaning did not set apart those who responded in favor of change or of servanthood. In fact, even the relationship between the servant role for the church and for the individual life was tenuous. There was little more relationship between these responses among respondents from "secular" churches than from "mainstream" when that group was analyzed.

The most distinctive pattern in the "sacred" type had been that of a "pietistic" definition of the meaning of religion, a conception of the role of the church as providing security, and a negative perception of change. Individual responses in "mainstream"--and when checked later, in the other two types--did not show any discernible relationship among these factors in the response patterns of individuals.

A comparison of individual responses on the basis of involvement in church-related activities in "sacred" and "secular" congregations failed to reveal individual responses which were consistent with the congregational pattern.

While is has been noted that a high percentage of pastors responded in favor of an activist orientation toward change, only four of these also ranked the "servant role" for both congregation and individual highest, and four more ranked one of these highest. Since, however, clergymen were asked to rank congregational emphasis rather than their individual ideas, these somewhat closer relationships in their responses among what became distinguishing variable in identifying church types may indicate a closer relationship to these types in ministerial attitudes.

Without further substantiation along these lines, however, it seems generally true that the types distinguished in this study refer to congregational patterns only, not individual ideological configurations.

Chapter VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A review of macro-theories of social change and urbanization shows that there is a general expectation that cultures over time develop an increasing amount of complexity, causing people to settle in urban concentrations where greater specialization may be exercised. Such specialization leads to diversity among the people of the society, and the functional interdependence of specialized persons and groups leads to a greater toleration of diversity. In such a milieu, an openness or accessibility is expected to occur in relation to new elements of culture, new people, and new ideas. Followed to its logical conclusion, such a trend would lead to an individualistic interpretation of values, since various life styles reinforce needed specialized functions, and no single life style can be functionally defended as the only correct one. Openness and flexibility would be the basic characteristics of such a society.

Yet empirical evidence supports the contention that the social and mental organization of urban groups does not always develop such openness and flexibility. Rather, value systems are brought into play which provide closed systems of thought, some solidification of the status system, some barriers to the interchange of persons and ideas within the society.

The question which presents itself is whether this tension is a necessary one, with social complexity demanding an openness which cannot fully be granted while maintaining personal and social integration, and consequently must be countered by value systems providing closure; or whether value systems are being devised which provide a kind of integration which supports open mental and social systems.

Historically, religion has been the chief source of value-systems--or at least of their legitimation. There are those who see this function disappearing in secular urban society, and who would either--according to their own hierarchy of values--discard religion so that secularization may proceed unhampered, or arrest or reverse secularization and urbanization so that religion may not be destroyed. There are others who claim religious sanction for values they see as supportive of change and openness.

The American religious heritage shows trends of all three of these types of thinking. The same Judaeo-Christian tradition is claimed as the source of social change and of resistance to that change. While many recent studies have shown the American church as a mirror of the society rather than any kind of change agent, positive or negative, it is possible to trace within the American religious institution three types of response to social change--resistance to change, acquiescence and adjustment to change, and promotion and guiding of change. A paradigm was set up concerning the type of group most likely to support each of these points of view, and questionnaires devised which would test for some of the characteristics denoted in the paradigm.

The questionnaire has been administered to pastors, sessions (church boards), and a random sample of congregation members of 32 congregations of the United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., located in the northeastern quarter of Colorado. Sufficient tendencies in the hypothesized directions were found to enable four churches to be identified as "sacred"--resisting or withdrawing from the changing society. Six were identified as "secular"--actively supporting change. Twenty-one churches were classified as "mainstream," or acquiescent. One was not classified, having exhibited the characteristics of all three types in different areas.

The doctrinal emphasis of "mainstream" churches appeared fairly orthodox. God was seen as both transcendent and immanent; the divinity and virgin birth of Christ were acknowledged, as was a life after death. Sin was defined in terms of individual human decision and action. The Bible was considered written by men inspired by God to say what he wanted them to say.

Similarly, items classified as "consequential attitudes" reflected common attitudes in the society. The chief factor of the Christian life was identified as regular prayer and Bible reading--a not uncommon expectation from a Protestant church. Closely following this was being kind and loving to others. The favored role for the church was the provision of a place for worship and fellowship for the believers. The relationship of religion to social change was one of assisting individuals in their adjustment to change.

"Sacred" congregations showed greatest differences from the "mainstream" in a greater acceptance of a personalized Satan, a tendency to name as the most favored role of the church that of providing a haven of security in a troubled world, and a greater acceptance of a negative attitude toward social change.

"Secular" congregations tended to be somewhat less orthodox in their doctrinal responses, especially in their view of the Bible as having been written by men inspired "to share their inspiration with others," and a less orthodox view of the divinity of Christ. There was a somewhat greater tendency on the part of "secular" churches to give higher ratings on the "servant role" of the church, and to see greater importance in working for community improvement.

Programs of "secular" and "mainstream" churches varied little. The one variation which seemed consistent and significant was that of some "secular" churches of setting up service-oriented teams for specific tasks. "Sacred" churches tended to emphasize activities within the bounds of the congregation.

Pastors of "sacred" congregations, when asked what activities outside the regular church program were emphasized as worthy Christian involvements for their members, tended to limit their responses to traditional religious organizations. "Secular" and "mainstream" churches reported a wide array of service programs and community involvement. The same pattern held true for programs considered most significant.

Measures of consensus on doctrinal and attitudinal items showed "sacred" congregations as generally having the greatest amount of consensus, "secular" the least, although in many cases the range of consensus scores of "mainstream" congregations encompassed those of both other types.

Attendance at worship services averaged somewhat higher in "sacred" churches, next in "mainstream," lowest in "secular." Activity in church-related organizations was slightly higher for session members of "mainstream" churches. An unexpected finding, so far as the original paradigm is concerned, was that, in activities outside the regular church program, sessions of "sacred" congregations showed highest, rather than lowest rates of participation.

Members of the congregation in "sacred" churches, however, responded in the expected manner, showing higher rates of involvement in church-related activities, and lower rates in non-church-related organizations, than were generally found in "mainstream" or "secular" congregations. "Secular" congregation members showed little difference in their participation patterns from those of "mainstream" churches.

Statistically significant difference did appear in the response patterns of the three types on items concerning the personal meaning of religion. "Sacred" congregation members most highly favored a type of religion which can be expressed in terms of intimate friendship with the divinity, nearly half the respondents choosing this personalized sort of response. Over one-fifth of the "mainstream" respondents made this "pietistic" expression their choice, but these represented a smaller proportion of that group than the nearly one-third who chose the less personal expression of the meaning of religion as providing the purpose for their lives. "Secular" respondents also most favored this "ideological" statement of religion's provision of purpose, and tended to avoid the personal approach. Session members in general favored the "ideological" response to a greater degree than did the "rank and file" members of their congregations.

Anomie was not found to be high in any of the three types of congregations, although "sacred" congregations tended to average somewhat higher, "secular" congregations somewhat lower, than those in the "mainstream." Respondents with high anomie scores were found most often in "mainstream" congregations of greatest size, respondents from "secular" churches whose occupational status was lower than that of most of the congregations, and members of all types of churches who were under eighteen years of age.

A check was made of variables which might be explanatory of these differences in church type other than the congregation's emphasis and organization. The age of church members appeared generally unrelated to church type. Occupational status appeared somewhat related, with "sacred" congregations and sessions somewhat lower in status, and those of "secular" churches somewhat higher than the "mainstream."

"Sacred" churches tend to be more easily found in more rural areas, "secular" in more urban ones. In communities of any size, either of these types seem more likely to appear if they are not the only church of that denomination in the community.

At the same time, there were not found within "mainstream" churches of communities without a choice of Presbyterian congregations any significant number of persons whose response patterns resembled those of "sacred" or "secular" congregations. In fact, within those types the full response pattern of the type was seldom matched by individual responses. Even pastors did not fit the patterns to any great degree in their responses, although they did so more noticeably than other respondents.

Conclusions

The first hypothesis, that *there are congregations whose teachings can be differentiated from the general cultural milieu*, was supported to the extent that the sub-hypothesis, that *such teachings may be located in congregations whose general form of program and activities approach the pure types of "sacred" and "secular"* was supported. Such support was fairly clear in the case of the "sacred" type. In this type of church, characterized by an emphasis upon activities within its own boundaries, more orthodox religious views were held. In the case of the "secular" congregations, support is much less clear, since a high percentage of congregations classified as "mainstream" in their teachings reported programs and activities which could be classified as "secular." The primary way in which some "secular" churches could be distinguished was their organization of service teams deliberately planned to work in the community. While these were not characteristic of all "secular" churches, the "secular" teaching of the church appeared to be somewhat reinforced within the congregations where such teams were found, and was rather poorly supported by congregation members where they were not found.

The second hypothesis, that *there will be observable differences in attitudes and activities between members of such congregations and those of congregations whose teaching is not differentiated from the culture*, was not greatly supported. Some differences did appear in the evaluation of the personal meaning of religion. However, the sub-hypothesis that *members of "sacred" congregations will show in the attitudes and activities a greater desire and ability to withdraw from secular involvement*, was supported only in some attitudinal responses and in the organizational participation of members of the congregational sample. Members of their sessions did not support the hypothesis in their responses, showing rather a higher rate of involvement outside the church than was exhibited by their peers in the other congregational types.

The sub-hypothesis that members of "secular" congregations will show a greater desire and ability to participate in secular activities oriented toward influencing the society than will members of "mainstream" congregations, was not supported. No real differences in attitude or action could be found in the data gathered in this study.

The almost unanimous choice of the attitude toward change which placed the function of religion was providing personal integration in the fact of change supports those theorists who point to the "privatization" of American religion. Here religion's primary function is held to be psychological, and of personal service to the believer.

Much modern theology--although certainly not all of it--takes a view of religion as a moving force in the society, and of the individual as serving religious ends rather than religion serving individual ends. Responses of pastors on these questionnaires show that they tend to accept this viewpoint as what is being taught in their congregations. Six churches of 32 responding could be classified as emphasizing this viewpoint to some extent. Yet responses from rank and file members of their congregations indicate that little of this viewpoint is being *learned* if it is being *taught*. The one way in which this teaching seems to be reinforced is through deliberately organized action programs of the congregation.

That body of theology which sees religion as dominant, but in opposing rather than directing change, is represented in the "sacred" type of congregation, whose program does appear to reinforce its teaching. However, in the present study, only 12.5 percent of the churches fit this mold, and observation over time indicates that the proportion of churches of this type is diminishing, not increasing.

On the whole, there is little in the data of this study to indicate that religion is serving as a moving force in providing values either in favor of or against changes which are occurring in our urbanizing society. There are some indications that people consider it personally helpful in the situation in that society, and their scores on an anomie scale tend to support this opinion.

The tendency of the responses of pastors to be more supportive of an active orientation toward social change is in keeping with the observation that a high percentage of those who are politically activist and give their motivation as religious (Cox's "New Breed") are clergy or other religious professionals. It may well be that those "ordinary laymen" whose religious values support social change, urbanization, and secularization, are also conditioned to expect a high degree of role specialization, allowing the clergy to become involved in such social activism as a specialized clerical role, rather than accepting such an active role as a part of their own Christian duty.

Implications for Further Research

Any findings in this study are likely to concern further research, in that it was conceived as an exploratory study from the beginning. Such implications may be put into classifications as follows:

Congregation types.--Since some support was given the existence of the three general types of congregations, further research might well be made among churches whose orientations should be expected to vary more widely than those in the present study--churches of different denominations, and of different geographical areas or ethnic backgrounds. If the tendencies indicated here are actually general trends, they should be borne out much more strongly in a wider study.

To be able to identify congregational types within the narrow focus of this study, there has had to be some overlap between identifying variables and those which could be construed as consequential, so that some circularity exists in the results. In a more widely conceived study--if these minor variations prove to be indicative of greater tendencies--such circularity would not be necessary, and type and effect could be more clearly separated.

Ideological and attitudinal items.--The questionnaire items upon which these generalizations have been made were based partly upon previous research and partly upon specific terminology from the background of a rather narrow universe. The expansion of the investigation to a wider field would require the restructuring of many items. Since this study was put into the field, at least two new measuring techniques, including question items, have been published, which deserve recommendation in this context. In the first, Morton King has identified through factor analysis dimensions of religious involvement, some of which are similar to those dealt with here, others which might bear adding.[1] His dimensions include (I) Creedal Assent and Personal Commitment, which is similar to what has been dealt with here as ideological; (II) Personal Religious Experience, which is similar to what has been discussed here as experiential, and very slightly related to the section of the questionnaire on "Personal Meaning of Religion;" (III) Participation in Congregational Activities, which of course has been covered here; (IV) Personal Ties in the Congregation, a factor often used, but not included here; (V) Commitment to Intellectual Search Despite Doubt; (VI) Openness to Religious Growth; (VIIa) Dogmatism, and (VIIb) Extrinsic Orientation, all of which developed factorially from questions designed to test between rigidity and openness of belief; (VIIIa) Financial Behavior; and (VIIIb) Financial Attitudes; and (IX) Talking and Reading about Religion.

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[1] Morton King, "Nine Factorially Derived Dimensions," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, Vol. 6 (Fall, 1967), pp. 173-85.

Many of the items used in this study of King's, and grouped into these factors statistically identified, would be most applicable to an extension of this study into a wider milieu.

Also, Russell Allen and Bernard Spilka have identified a dichotomy of personal religious orientation which would present another interesting method of assessing the involvement of congregation.[2]

Another study attempting to test the findings of this would also profit from improvements in the method of testing for participation patterns in organizations outside the church. There is some doubt in the mind of the researcher that the format for this section of the questionnaire brought out a full listing of organizational participation from respondents. It was felt that more answers than would normally be expected were limited to the kind of participation which would normally be considered relevant to a "religious" questionnaire, and that consequently the results were biased. Some changes of instructions might prevent this problem, or the provision of several categorized blanks which made obvious that all sorts of activities were applicable. Depending upon the pastor's response alone to identify possible religious motives for belonging to non-church-related groups did not, as analysis proceeded, appear to give unbiased reports in this area, either. Perhaps the addition of this section to the session questionnaire as a profile question would strengthen the study; perhaps it would be better to ask respondents themselves to identify activities they performed for religious reasons. These considerations should be weighed in advance of any further investigation.

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[2] Russell Allen and Bernard Spilka, "Committed and Consensual Religion," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, Vol. 6 (Fall, 1967), pp. 191-206.

The congregational focus.--While further work should be done in expanding the scope of the consideration of congregational types to a broader base, the lack of clarity between the types and the failure of them to be mirrored to any extent in individual responses leads to the question of the validity of seeking for religious sources of attitudes and values concerning social change within the local church congregation as a unit.

The Judaeo-Christian tradition is rife with examples of charismatic prophetic influences coming from within the faith but outside the regular religious institution. Most of the ancient Hebrew prophets were "outsiders" to the religious institution of their day. Many of the Reformers felt called upon to tear the fabric of the institutional pattern to be able to establish the new approaches which they brought to the faith. All these leaders found their followers within the established religious institution, but not necessarily in the groupings and orders in which they had been acting. It may be that the strongest religious thrust toward social change will be found in groups within or acting between local congregations, while the congregations as a whole go on oblivious of the process. The somewhat greater success of establishing a more actively oriented consensus of "secular" congregations which have organized teams as cross-cutting subgroups may indicate something of this sort. It would be worthwhile to conduct a similar study to the present one among specific groups within congregations rather than the congregation as a whole.

Longitudinal methods.--It would also be of worth to repeat such a study as this in the same congregations after a time lapse of several years, to see if trends may be identified in beliefs, attitudes, and participation patterns of members of the different types of congregations. If the congregational emphasis may be viewed as a sort of teaching goal, this would give some indication as to progression toward such a goal--or regression from it. None of these have been testable here, because a cross-sectional study does not provide this kind of data. Yet a dynamic model of personal growth, congregational change, and the like, is reasonable in this context.

The general field.--Enough indications of differences in congregational emphasis and activity regarding social change have been given in this study to merit further investigation. Yet none have been so concrete as to assure an investigator that positive findings of a significant nature can be made in the present framework. A continuing search is necessary if religious sources of social change are to be traced. But so long as there is a significant number of people, as there appear to be today, involving themselves in promoting--and actively resisting--social change under conditions of personal discomfort, risk, and loss, and saying they are doing so for religious reasons, the social scientist cannot completely discount the possibility of some sort of group reinforcement of religious attitudes concerning social change.

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APPENDIX A

THE QUESTIONNAIRES

PASTORS' QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of Church ____

Address of Church ______________________________________

How many years have you been pastor of this church? ______________

In the spaces provided below, would you please list all the meetings and organizations which you consider a part of your congregational program, and in the appropriate blanks rank your observations of the activities in which they engage, putting a (1) in the space given for what you consider the primary activity of each, a (2) in the next most common thing they do, etc. Leave those spaces blank which refer to activities which are not a part of the program of that organization or meeting. Any other significant activity of each may be written in the column marked "other," and also ranked. If you need more space, feel free to use the back of the page or to add another page.

Meeting or Organization	Activities				
	Worship	Study	Service	Fellowship	Other

Does your congregation hold other regular worship services in addition to Sunday morning worship? Yes ____ No ____

Are there any specific activities in the community or other areas outside the usual church program in which members of your congregation are encouraged to participate as a part of their Christian witness? If so, will you please list these activities:

____

____

____

____

What specific services or activities of your congregation during the past year do you feel have been most meaningful?

____

____

____

There are a number of core concepts in the Christian faith which are dealt with by all churches, but all of us are aware that there are differences in the way these are conceived. Below are a few of these and some of the more common ways in which they are treated. Will you please rank the statements under each heading below, giving a (1) to that which most closely resembles the way that concept is taught and understood in your congregation, (2) to the one next near, (3) to the next, and on down, assigning the highest number to the least acceptable statement. Please try to assign a number to each statement in order of acceptability, even if you find some quite unacceptable. Please keep in mind that this is not a statement of your personal beliefs, but rather your perception of how these are emphasized in your congregation and its program.

GOD

1 _____God is a Person who is wholly above and not a part of this world and all its creatures, including man.

2 _____God is a force both within and beyond man, who is involved in human affairs, though above them.

3 _____God can be man's personal friend and companion, to whom he can turn for aid and comfort.

4 _____God is a spiritual force within persons, which can be tapped for help and comfort if we know how.

5 _____God is within the nature of man himself, an expression of his psychological needs or problems.

6 _____God, in the way most persons understand him, does not exist.

CHRIST

1 _____Jesus is the Son of God, miraculously conceived by the Holy Spirit, and born of the Virgin Mary.
2 _____Jesus is the Son of God, for God's fullness dwelt in Him.
3 _____Jesus was greatly inspired by God, and so shows us the way to God.
4 _____Jesus was a great man and moral teacher.
5 _____In the story of Jesus we see the acting out of God's involvement in human life.
6 _____It is not important whether the myth of Jesus of Nazareth has foundation in historical fact.

THIS LIFE AND THE NEXT

1 _____There is a life beyond death, for which this life is just a preparation.
2 _____There is a life beyond this one, though we know little of it.
3 _____Eternity is a quality of life which can begin here and now.
4 _____This life is all we can do anything about, so we might as well concentrate on it.
5 _____It is the influence of a life which is lasting, rather than the individual personality.
6 _____Human life, as such,has little meaning.

SIN AND EVIL

1 _____There is such a person as the Devil, who is responsible for the evil in this world.
2 _____There are forces for evil in this world which are beyond any human agency.
3 _____Things that are bad in this world come primarily from individual human choices and actions.
4 _____Things that are bad in this world come primarily from strains within the social system.
5 _____Evil in the world today is a sign of man's present immaturity, and will someday be outgrown.
6 _____"Good" and "evil" are not absolute qualities, but are merely expressions of value judgments about situations.

THE BIBLE

1 _____The Author of the Bible is God, and its words are His words.
2 _____The Bible was written by men inspired by God to say what He wanted them to say.
3 _____The Bible was written by men inspired by God, who wanted to share that inspiration with their fellow men.
4 _____The Bible is the historical account of the development of the Jewish and Christian faiths, and has no need of divine origins.
5 _____The Bible is great literature, and its inspiration is of the same type as that of any artist.
6 _____Little importance need be attached to the Bible.

CHANGES IN THE WORLD AND THE COMMUNITY

1 _____Most of the changes in the world around us today are leading us farther from the simple Gospel and a godly life.
2 _____Christian faith helps us to survive and make use of the changing situations in which we find ourselves.
3 _____God is Lord of history, and we work with Him when we try to change things in the world.

The following two categories are to be handled similarly, except that here there seems to be less a matter of choice between than of amount of importance or emphasis given each. Please rank these in order of importance or the amount of emphasis attached, and again, if some are not acceptable, continue ranking them in the order of negative emphasis given, with that which is least acceptable given the highest number. Please do assign some rank number to each item.

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

1 _____A Christian should pray and read the Bible regularly and frequently.
2 _____A Christian should be faithful in church attendance.
3 _____A Christian should be kind and loving to others.
4 _____A Christian should tell others of his faith and try to win them to Christ.
5 _____A Christian should live by the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount.
6 _____A Christian should be servant of all.
7 _____A Christian should avoid dishonesty, unclean habits, law-breaking, and other such kinds of immorality.
8 _____A Christian should be responsible, hard-working, and thrifty.
9 _____A Christian should feel especially responsible as a citizen, voting, holding public office when qualified, and the like.
10 _____A Christian should work in any way he can to improve the community and the society in which he lives.

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

1 _____The Church provides a place where God's people may gather for worship and fellowship.
2 _____The Church teaches the faith to those who want to learn it.
3 _____The Church provides a place of security and hope in a troubled world.
4 _____The Church prepares its members to go out to serve the world.
5 _____The Church should do all it can to support laws of personal morality such as those against drunkenness, sexual license, obscene literature, and the like.
6 _____The Church should do all it can to support public morality in state and community, in such areas as discrimination, economic inequality, and the like.
7 _____The Church should speak out in international affairs as an organization which transcends national boundaries and national interests.

INDIVIDUAL QUESTIONNAIRE

What is your age? __________ Sex? ________ Occupation? __________________

Occupation of the head of your household, if other than yourself ______

____

To what church do you belong? ____

How long have you been a member of this congregation? _________________

To what other churches have you belonged ? ____________________________

____

Please check the statement below which most nearly describes your attendance at regular worship services of your congregation.

_____ More than once a week
_____ About four times a month
_____ At least once a month
_____ Less than once a month

Please check the boxes which describe your activity in other church-related groups and programs.

Type of group	Member?		Attend at least 1/2 the meetings		Have held office* in past 3 years	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Sunday Church School						
Youth group						
Women's group						
Choir						
Men's group						
Others (Please name)						

*In church school and similar groups, please consider a teacher an officer.

Please list and again check the appropriate boxes for other groups to which you belong--community, service, recreation, etc.--which are not church related.

Type of group	Attend at least 1/2 the meetings		Have held office in past 3 years	
	Yes	No	Yes	No

There are many ways in which people understand the Christian faith. On the items below, please check the statement in each section which most closely expresses your own thinking on the subject. None may express your feelings completely, but do please try to choose the one which is most satisfactory.

GOD

1 _____I think of God as a Person who is wholly above and not a part of this world and its creatures, including man.
2 _____I think of God as a force both within and beyond man, who is involved in human affairs, though above them.
3 _____I think of God as a personal friend and companion, to whom we can turn for aid and comfort.
4 _____I think of God as a spiritual force within myself and others, which can be tapped for help and comfort if we know how.
5 _____I think of God as within the nature of man himself, an expression of his psychological needs or problems.
6 _____I am not at all sure that God exists.

CHRIST

1 _____I am convinced that Jesus is the Son of God, miraculously conceived by the Holy Spirit, and born of the Virgin Mary.
2 _____I believe that Jesus is the Son of God, for God's fullness dwelt in Him.
3 _____I believe that Jesus was greatly inspired by God, and so shows us the way to God.

4 _____I believe that Jesus was a great man and moral teacher.
5 _____I believe that in the story of Jesus we see the acting out of God's involvement in human life.
6 _____I am not sure whether a man named Jesus of Nazareth ever lived, or if he did, whether all we learn about him is historically true.

THIS LIFE AND THE NEXT

1 _____I believe that there is a life beyond death, for which this life is but a preparation.
2 _____I tend to think there is a life after this one.
3 _____I think eternity is a quality of life which can begin here and now.
4 _____I think this life is all we can do anything about, so we might as well concentrate on it.
5 _____I think it is the influence of a person's life which is lasting, rather than the individual personality.
6 _____I am not sure there is any meaning in human life.

SIN AND EVIL

1 _____I believe there is such a person as the devil, who is responsible for evil in this world.
2 _____I believe there are forces for evil in this world which are beyond any human agency.
3 _____I think things that are bad in this world come primarily from individual human choices and actions.
4 _____I think things that are bad in this world come primarily from strains within the social system.
5 _____I think that evil in the world today is a sign of man's present immaturity, and will someday be outgrown.
6 _____I think that "good" and "evil" are not absolute qualities, but are merely expressions of value judgments about situations.

THE BIBLE

1 _____I believe that the Author of the Bible is God, and its words are His words.
2 _____I believe that the Bible was written by men inspired by God to say what He wanted them to say.
3 _____I think that the Bible was written by men inspired by God, who wanted to share that inspiration with their fellow men.
4 _____I think that the Bible is the historical account of the development of the Jewish and Christian faiths, and has no need of divine origin.
5 _____I think that the Bible is great literature, and its inspiration is of the same type as that of any artist.
6 _____I don't really attach much importance to the Bible.

The following sets of items concerning the Christian life and the role of the Church in the world with its changes, contain items which may or may not all be acceptable. On these items would you please do the best you can to place them in order of importance? That is, will you put a (1) in the blank in front of the item you think should be stressed most, a (2) in front of the next most important, etc., until the highest number is attached to that which to you is least important or least acceptable. Please try to attach a number to each of the statements.

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

1 _____A Christian should pray and read the Bible regularly and frequently.
2 _____A Christian should be faithful in church attendance.
3 _____A Christian should be kind and loving to others.
4 _____A Christian should tell others of his faith and try to win them to Christ.
5 _____A Christian should live by the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount.
6 _____A Christian should be servant of all.
7 _____A Christian should avoid dishonesty, unclean habits, lawbreaking, and other such kinds of immorality.
8 _____A Christian should be responsible, hard-working, and thrifty.
9 _____A Christian should feel especially responsible as a citizen, voting, holding public office when qualified, and the like.
10 _____A Christian should work in any way he can to improve the community and the society in which he lives.

CHANGES IN THE WORLD AND THE COMMUNITY

1 _____Most of the changes in the world around us today are leading us farther from the simple Gospel and a godly life.
2 _____Christian faith helps us to survive and make use of the changing situations in which we find ourselves.
3 _____God is Lord of history, and we work with Him when we try to change things in the world.

(Please use this same method for working with the first set of statements which follow.)

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

1 _____The Church provides a place where God's people may gather for worship and fellowship.
2 _____The Church teaches the faith to those who want to learn it.
3 _____The Church provides a place of security and hope in a troubled world.
4 _____The Church prepares its members to go out to serve the world.
5 _____The Church should do all it can to support laws of personal morality, such as those against drunkenness, sexual license, obscene literature and the like.

6 _____The Church should do all it can to support public morality in nation, state and community, in such areas as discrimination, economic inequality, and the like.

7 _____The Church should speak out in international affairs as an organization which transcends national boundaries and national interests.

On the following items, would you please circle the answer which most nearly fits your attitude toward the statement given. SA stands for "strongly agree," A for "agree," U for "uncertain," D for "disagree," and SD for "strongly disagree."

SA A U D SD Many changes are occurring in our society today, both
1 2 3 4 5 good and bad, but they seem to be averaging out for
the good.

SA A U D SD There's little use writing to public officials these
5 4 3 2 1 days, because they often aren't interested in the
problems of the average man.

SA A U D SD A person might as well live pretty much for today,
5 4 3 2 1 because these days we can't count on anything much
in the future.

SA A U D SD In spite of what people say, the lot of the average
5 4 3 2 1 man is getting worse, not better.

SA A U D SD It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with
5 4 3 2 1 the way things look for the future.

SA A U D SD These days a person doesn't really know who he can
5 4 3 2 1 count on.

SA A U D SD No matter what the situation is in the world, God has
1 2 3 4 5 called us to serve Him here, and our lives do count
for something.

In the following section, please check the statement which most fully describes the place you feel religion holds in your personal life.

1 _____My membership in the church has little meaning for me, but exists because of habit or because others expect it of me.

2 _____Religion is to me a pleasant habit which enriches my life through its fellowship and teachings.

3 _____Religion for me is the underlying foundation which sustains me when things go wrong.

4 _____The practice of religion brings to me my most rewarding experiences and friendships.

5 _____In my religion I have found a Friend who sustains, encourages, and comforts me.

6 _____My religion provides the purpose for my life, in all its activities and relationships.

7 _____My religion is my whole life.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SESSION MEMBERS

Name of your church ______________________________

Your age ________ Your sex ________ Your occupation ______________

Occupation of the head of your household (if other than yourself) _____

____

How long have you served as an officer in this congregation?

____

How long have you been a member of this congregation? ______________

To what other churches have you belonged? ______________________

____

Please check the statement below which most closely describes your attendance at regular worship services of your congregation.

_____ More than once a week
_____ About four times a month
[✓ _____ At least once a month]
_____ Less than once a month

In the spaces below, please list the church-related groups to which you belong, and check the spaces which apply to your activity in each.

Type of group	Attend at least 1/2 the meetings		Have held office* in past 3 years	
	Yes	No	Yes	No

*In church school or similar groups, please consider a teacher an officer.

Please list and again check the appropriate boxes for other groups to which you belong--community, service, recreation clubs, etc., not church-related.

Type of group	Attend at least 1/2 the meetings		Have held office in past 3 years	
	Yes	No	Yes	No

As an officer in your church, you probably have some fairly clear idea about particular points of view which are emphasized in your congregation--in its teaching, its preaching, its program in general. These may or may not be the same as your own personal way of looking at things. In each of the following sets of statements, will you try to rank their nearness to the emphasis of your congregation in the left-hand column marked "Congregational?" Give a (1) to the statement closest to the way the subject is most often emphasized, (2) to the one next near, etc., assigning the highest number in each case to the statement which would be least satisfactory to your congregation. Please try to assign a number to each statement in order of acceptability, even if you think some are quite unacceptable. At the same time, in the right-hand column marked "Personal," please check the one statement which most closely agrees with the way you personally feel about the subject.

Congregational	Personal	GOD
1 _____	_____	God is a Person who is wholly above and not a part of this world and its creatures, including man.
2 _____	_____	God is a force both within and beyond man, who is involved in human affairs, though above them.
3 _____	_____	God can be man's personal friend and companion, to whom he can turn for aid and comfort.
4 _____	_____	God is a spiritual force within persons, which can be tapped for help and comfort if we know how.

Congregational		Personal	
5	_____	_____	God is within the nature of man himself, an expression of his psychological needs or problems.
6	_____	_____	God, in the way most persons understand Him, does not exist.

CHRIST

1	_____	_____	Jesus is the Son of God, miraculously conceived by the Holy Spirit, and born of the Virgin Mary.
2	_____	_____	Jesus is the Son of God, for God's fullness dwelt in Him.
3	_____	_____	In the story of Jesus we see the acting out of God's involvement in human life.
4	_____	_____	It is not important whether the myth of Jesus of Nazareth has foundation in historical fact.

THIS LIFE AND THE NEXT

1	_____	_____	There is a life beyond death, for which this life is just a preparation.
2	_____	_____	There is a life beyond this one, though we know little of it.
3	_____	_____	Eternity is a quality of life which can begin here and now.
4	_____	_____	This life is all we can do anything about, so we might as well concentrate on it.
5	_____	_____	It is the influence of a life which is lasting, rather than the individual personality.
6	_____	_____	Human life, as such,has little meaning.

CHANGES IN THE WORLD AND THE COMMUNITY

1	_____	_____	Most of the changes in the world around us today are leading us farther from the simple Gospel and a godly life.
2	_____	_____	Christian faith helps us to survive and make use of the changing situations in which we find ourselves.
3	_____	_____	God is Lord of history, and we work with Him when we try to change things in the world.

SIN AND EVIL

1	_____	_____	There is such a person as the devil, who is responsible for the evil in this world.
2	_____	_____	There are forces for evil in this world which are beyond any human agency.
3	_____	_____	Things that are bad in this world come primarily from individual human choices and actions.
4	_____	_____	Things that are bad in this world come primarily from strains within the social system.

Congregational		Personal	
5	_____	_____	Evil in the world today is a sign of man's present immaturity, and will someday be outgrown.
6	_____	_____	"Good" and "evil" are not absolute qualities, but are merely expressions of value judgments about situations.

THE BIBLE

1	_____	_____	The Author of the Bible is God, and its words are His words.
2	_____	_____	The Bible was written by men inspired by God to say what He wanted them to say.
3	_____	_____	The Bible was written by men inspired by God who wanted to share that inspiration with their fellow men.
4	_____	_____	The Bible is the historical account of the development of the Jewish and Christian faiths, and has no need of divine origin.
5	_____	_____	The Bible is great literature, and its inspiration is of the same type as that of any artist.
6	_____	_____	Little importance need be attached to the Bible.

Please handle the following two categories in the same manner as those above, except rank both the congregation and your own opinion as to the amount of importance or emphasis which should be given each.

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

1	_____	_____	A Christian should pray and read the Bible regularly and frequently.
2	_____	_____	A Christian should be faithful in church attendance.
3	_____	_____	A Christian should be kind and loving to others.
4	_____	_____	A Christian should tell others of his faith and try to win them to Christ.
5	_____	_____	A Christian should live by the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount.
6	_____	_____	A Christian should be servant of all.
7	_____	_____	A Christian should avoid dishonesty, unclean habits, law-breaking, and other forms of immorality.
8	_____	_____	A Christian should be responsible, hard-working, and thrifty.
9	_____	_____	A Christian should feel especially responsible as a citizen, voting, holding public office when qualified, and the like.
10	_____	_____	A Christian should work in any way he can to improve the community and the society in which he lives.

Congregational	Personal	THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH
1 _____	_____	The Church provides a place where God's people may gather for worship and fellowship.
2 _____	_____	The Church teaches the faith to those who want to learn it.
3 _____	_____	The Church provides a place of security and hope in a troubled world.
4 _____	_____	The Church prepares its members to go out to serve the world.
5 _____	_____	The Church should do all it can to support laws of personal morality, such as those against drunkenness, sexual license, obscene literature, and the like.
6 _____	_____	The Church should do all it can to support public morality in nation, state, and community, in such areas as discrimination, economic inequality, and the like.
7 _____	_____	The Church should speak out in international affairs as an organization which transcends national boundaries and national interests.

The following section is designed to ask only for your personal attitude on the items given there. Please just circle the answer which most nearly fits your attitude toward each statement. SA stands for "strongly agree," A for "agree," U for "uncertain," D for "disagree," and SD for "strongly disagree."

SA 1	A 2	U 3	S 4	SD 5	Many changes are occurring in our society today, both good and bad, but they seem to be averaging out for the good.
SA 5	A 4	U 3	D 2	SD 1	There's little use writing to public officials these days, because they often aren't interested in the problems of the average man.
SA 5	A 4	U 3	D 2	SD 1	A person might as well live pretty much for today, because these days we can't count on anything much in the future.
SA 5	A 4	U 3	D 2	SD 1	In spite of what people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.
SA 5	A 4	U 3	D 2	SD 1	It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.
SA 5	A 4	U 3	D 2	SD 1	These days a person doesn't really know who he can count on.
SA 1	A 2	U 3	D 4	SD 5	No matter what the situation is in the world, God has called us to serve Him here, and our lives do count for something.

YOU AND YOUR RELIGION

Please check the statement which most fully describes your feeling about the place of religion in your personal life.

1 _____My membership in the church has little meaning for me, but exists because of habit or because others expect it of me.

2 _____Religion is to me a pleasant habit which enriches my life through its fellowship and teachings.

3 _____Religion for me is the underlying foundation which sustains me when things go wrong.

4 _____The practice of religion brings to me my most rewarding experiences and friendships.

5 _____In my religion I have found a Friend who sustains, encourages, and comforts me.

6 _____My religion provides the purpose for my life, in all its activities and relationships.

7 _____My religion is my whole life.

APPENDIX B

THE COVER LETTERS
AND
REPORT FORMS

1. The Cover Letter from the Stated Clerk of the Presbytery

THE PRESBYTERY OF BOULDER
The United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

Rev. Donald R. Mitchell
P. O. Box 13
Loveland, Colorado

Office of the Stated Clerk

March 9, 1967

Dear Fellow Presbyters:

In a few days you will be receiving a questionaire from Mrs. Barbara Hargrove at Colorado State University. This will be part of a study she is conducting, which was approved by Presbytery at the January meeting, as you may see on page 231 of the minutes.

Mrs. Hargrove has said that she will make the information on each church available to its pastor on request, so the study may be of use to you in evaluating your local program, as well as to the church at large. Consequently we would encourage you to complete and return the questionaire. After she receives this from you, Mrs. Hargrove will be mailing to selected members of your congregation a similar questionaire. It would help if you would encourage those of your members who receive these to participate in the study.

All information will be held confidential; individuals will not be asked to identify themselves, and individual churches will only be identified in direct communication between Mrs. Hargrove and their pastors. The complete report will become part of a doctoral dissertation, in which no identification of persons or congregations will be given.

The nature of the study appears to be such that it would help churches in understanding their programs, so again we encourage you to cooperate in it as much as you feel able. If you have any further questions about this feel free to direct them to me.

Sincerely,

Donald R. Mitchell

P. S. All expenses related to this survey are being borne by Mrs. Hargrove.

2. The Cover Letter with the Pastors' Questionnaires

COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

Fort Collins, Colorado 80521

Sociology - Anthropology

March 13, 1967

Dear Sir:

A few days ago you should have received a letter from the Stated Clerk of the presbytery, explaining that I would be contacting you for help in a study I am conducting. In case you have mislaid or forgotten that letter, he has been kind enough to give me extra copies so that I might also enclose one with this mailing.

I sincerely hope you will find it worth your while to help in this study. It is planned as a survey of the entire presbytery, so it is important to hear from all the churches. The final report will not identify any specific church, but will rather be concerned with general totals from all. However, since at one point I will be testing the amount of agreement and participation within congregations, information will be grouped separately for each church. This I can supply to you upon request if you feel it may be of help in evaluating or planning your program. The information should be ready sometime late this summer if the data is returned promptly.

There are three ways in which I need your help. First, could you please fill out and return the enclosed questionnaire? Then, I need your assistance in drawing a sample from your congregation which will be statistically representative. To achieve this, could you or your secretary go through the roll of your resident communicant members and, beginning with the third person on the list, select each ____ one in order, and send me their names and addresses? There should be enough postage on the enclosed return envelope for you to enclose this list with your questionnaire.

The third favor I would ask of you is that you encourage these people and members of your session, whom I also plan to contact, to participate in the study. I will not contact your session or any members of your congregation until I have received your questionnaire, and so know that it is all right with you that I do so. When they are contacted, I hope that you will find, as did some of those who tested out questions for me, that some fruitful interest and discussion were aroused within the congregation.

Again, thank you for your assistance. I hope it will prove to have been of benefit to all of us.

Sincerely,

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*If any of the names you choose by counting down the roll is that of a current member of your session, please replace that name with the one immediately above it.

3. Follow-up Letter to Pastors

COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

Fort Collins, Colorado 80521

Sociology - Anthropology

March 29, 1967

Dear

Some time ago I sent you a questionnaire concerning your church's program and emphasis. As yet I have not received your reply. I am hoping that now that the busy Easter season is past you will be able to find time to complete and return the questionnaire.

In the meantime, however, I have discovered among those which have been returned several in which the second page had been left blank. Apparently in my mass-production of the forms I didn't check them over very well. Since the second page not only contains its own information but also the instructions for filling out the following page, it is a serious oversight. Could you check over the questionnaire you received to see if it is complete? If it is not, or if you have misplaced it, will you please fill out and return the enclosed, self-addressed post card so that I may send you another?

It is important to hear from all of the churches in the Presbytery if this study is to be accurate. Each congregation is unique, and should be represented. Since I have promised not to contact any of your congregation until I have heard from you, it is also important that I receive your questionnaire as soon as possible, so that the study may be completed.

Thank you very much for your consideration and cooperation.

Sincerely,

4. Report Form on Non-Respondents Sent to Pastors

Name	Type of Response		Age				Occupation	Attends Worship		
	Refusal	No Answer	Under 25	Young Adult	Mid-Adult	Elderly		Seldom	Some	Regularly

5. Report Form on Congregational Responses Sent to Pastors

COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

Fort Collins, Colorado 80521

Sociology - Anthropology

Dear

I have finished the first phase of analysis of the material from your congregation, and am enclosing a summary of findings in that phase. Questionnaires were returned by members of your congregation and members of your Session.

What I have done so far is to compute, within the very real limits of the specific items presented for a choice, some measurements of the doctrinal stance and amount of consensus within your congregation. In showing the doctrinal stance, I have found a gross rank order of items given for choice in the questionnaire as ranked by members of the Session and the pastor, with the pastor's ranking counted another time for each additional three years he has served the congregation, up to a limit of having his response weigh equally with that of all the Session. In the case of items concerning changes in the world and the community, the Christian life, and the role of the Church, where other congregational members were also asked to rank items, I have added theirs in a similar manner. I have also computed a statistical measure (which for my own reasons I call a "W" score) which shows the amount of agreement among respondents on their ranking. This "W" score gets higher as agreement increases, so I am giving it to you for each section so that you may have some indication as to areas in which consensus is higher or lower.

In the case of items where members of the congregation were simply asked to check their preferences, I have computed what I call a "C score" which is a sort of average rank of items checked. In the case of the "C" score, the lower the score, the higher the consensus, with perfect agreement represented by the number 1.0. Since Session members were also asked to check personal preferences as well as their idea of what the congregation was emphasizing as a whole, I have also computed a "C" score for the Session as individuals.

To present this summary to you, I am using part of the form which was sent to Session members. In the column marked "Congregational" I have put the final rank order given by the Session and yourself in each section. In the column marked "personal" I have recorded the number of persons who checked each item as their preferred choice. (Fractions indicate times when respondents checked more than one, and their vote was divided among those checked.) Beside the title of each section I have recorded the "W" and "C" scores for that section. So this should give you a rather gross idea of how your Session and congregation assess the emphasis in the teaching of your church, and how well agreed upon it they are, in terms of several general doctrinal areas. On those items ranked also by congregational members, the column marked "personal" contains the total ranking given by members of the congregational sample and only "W" scores for these items are given.

The second phase of analysis will concern comparisons between congregations, as to relationships between types of programs and doctrinal orientation and amount of consensus. I also plan to make comparisons which will indicate whether the congregation one belongs to is or is not more predictive of the amount of religious involvement and way of defining Christianity than age, occupation, size of community and the like. I will have this information to send to the Stated Clerk of Presbytery by the end of the year, and imagine he will share it with you if you want it. In this report, congregations will not be named, any more than in my report to you I have identified particular members of your congregation. I will simply generalize about types; you probably will be able to recognize your own place in the generalities, especially since you will have the enclosed information I have to work with concerning your congregation.

If you have any further questions at this time, you can reach me at Box 142, Timnath, Colorado 80547, or at 484 8329, until August 16. After that you may--eventually--reach me at the Department of Sociology, Hollins College, Hollins College, Virginia 24020.

Thank you again for all your assistance and interest.

Sincerely,

6. Cover Letter Sent to Session Members with Questionnaire

COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

Fort Collins, Colorado

Sociology - Anthropology

Dear

With the permission of Presbytery I am conducting a study of the program, emphasis, and participation patterns in each congregation in Boulder Presbytery. As a member of the Session of your church, you are in a position to be of great help to me in this work. In your position you have some chance to know what your congregation is trying to do and teach as a whole, as well as your personal experience in it. Since this is the case, I am asking you to take a few moments of your time to complete the enclosed questionnaire. I would appreciate it if you would return it in the enclosed stamped, addressed envelope at your earliest convenience.

Your opinions and understandings as one of the Session are important; a balanced understanding of a church may rest upon a balanced understanding of its Session. Please, then, let your answers truly reflect your personal views. If you have any questions about the purpose of the worth of this study, your minister may be able to tell you more about it. Or if you wish you may write me at the address above or call evenings at my home. The number there is 484 8329.

All results from the study will be grouped; no individual will be identified. In fact, you are not asked to give your name on the questionnaire. Since I need to know who has or has not returned questionnaires, I have enclosed a post card for you to drop in the mail after you mail the questionnaire. This way your responses may remain truly anonymous.

Members of Presbytery have indicated that they are supporting this study at least partially in the hope that it may help them pinpoint strengths and weaknesses in their own congregations' programs as well as give an overall view of what is being done in the Presbytery. I hope that this is true, and will say that if it is your assistance may be of value to your local church as well as to the church at large.

I also hope that you will find the moments spent filling out the questionnaire interesting and personally rewarding. In advance, then, many thinks for your assistance in this work.

Sincerely,

7. First Follow-Up Letter Sent to Session Members

COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

Fort Collins, Colorado 80521

Sociology - Anthropology

Dear

Some time ago you should have received a questionnaire concerning the program and teachings of your church and your understanding of them. As yet I have not received from you the post card which was enclosed with the questionnaire to let me know that you had completed and returned it. Since the number of cards and questionnaires received so far has been almost exactly equal, I assume that your questionnaire has not been returned. I realize that in these busy days it is hard to find time for filling out any more forms than are already required of us. Yet your position as a member of the Session of your church is such that your response to the questionnaire is really needed in order to obtain a balanced view of the life of your congregation.

With this in mind, I would like to request that you try to dig the questionnaire out of the pile of overtime work in which it probably is lying, and that you take the few minutes required to fill it out and return it. Although it may look lengthy, you will find that the number of questions is rather small. Your contribution to the accuracy of the study, however, will be very great. For this reason, I hope you will be able to find time to complete and return the questionnaire at your earliest possible convenience.

With the fond hope that your response will soon be on its way--or that it has crossed this letter in the mails--I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

8. Cover Letter Sent to Congregational Sample with Questionnaire

COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

Fort Collins, Colorado 80521

Sociology - Anthropology

Dear

With the permission of the Presbytery I am conducting a study of the program, emphasis, and participation patterns in each congregation in Boulder Presbytery. Each congregation is to be represented in the study by a sample of its members chosen in such a way that they truly represent the membership of that church. Because your name has been selected and sent to me as one to represent your congregation, I am asking you to take a few moments of your time to complete the enclosed questionnaire. I would appreciate it if you would return it in the enclosed stamped, addressed envelope at your earliest convenience.

Since the sample was carefully drawn to represent your congregation, it is important that all of those whose names were given me be included in your congregation's response. Please, then, let your answers truly reflect your personal views; do not pass the questionnaire on to anyone else to fill out. If you have any questions about the purpose of the worth of this study, your minister may be able to tell you more about it. Or if you wish you may write me at the address above, or call me evenings at my home. The phone number there is 484 8329.

All results from the study will be grouped; no individual will be identified. In fact, you are not asked to give your name on the questionnaire. Since I need to know who has or has not returned questionnaries, I have enclosed a post card for you to drop in the mail after you mail the questionnaire. This way your responses may remain truly anonymous.

Ministers and Elders in Presbytery have indicated that they are supporting this study at least partly because they hope that it may help them pinpoint strengths and weaknesses in their own congregation's programs as well as give an overall view of what is done in the Presbytery. I hope this is true, and will say that if it is your assistance may be of value to your local church as well as to the church at large.

I also hope that you will find the moments spent filling out the questionnaire interesting and personally rewarding. In advance, then, many thanks for your assistance in this work.

Sincerely,

9. First Follow-Up Letter Sent to Congregational Sample

COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

Fort Collins, Colorado 80521

Sociology - Anthropology

Dear

Some time ago you should have received a questionnaire concerning your participation in programs of your church and community, and your understanding of the teachings of your church. As yet I have not received from you the post card which was enclosed with the questionnaire to let me know you had completed and returned it. Since the number of cards and questionnaires received so far has been almost exactly equal, I assume that your questionnaire has not been returned. I realize that in these busy days it is hard to find time for filling out any more forms than are already required of us. Yet your name is part of a carefully drawn sample of your congregation, and your replies are necessary for a balanced view of your local church.

With this in mind, I would like to request that you try to find time to dig the questionnaire out of the pile of overtime work in which it probably is lying, and that you take the few minutes required to fill it out and return it. Although it may look long, you will find that most of the questions require a single check mark. Yet the contribution which you can make to the accuracy of the study by supplying these answers is very great. For this reason, I hope you will be able to find time to complete and return the questionnaire at your earliest possible convenience.

With the fond hope that your response will soon be coming--or that it has crossed this letter in the mail--I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

10. Second Follow-Up Letter Sent to Session and Congregational Sample

COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

Fort Collins, Colorado 80521

Sociology - Anthropology

Dear

I am concerned about the questionnaire I sent you recently, which inquired about your activities in and understanding of your church. My records show that you have not yet returned it, and I am wondering if you may have misplaced either the questionnaire or the post card informing me that you have mailed it. For this reason I am taking the liberty of sending you another of each. If you have returned the questionnaire, please just destroy this one; however, unless you have mailed your original post card in the past day or two, will you please sign and send this one on to me so that I may correct my records? If you have not yet completed the questionnaire, I would be most grateful if you could find the time to do so as soon as possible. It would be unfortunate if your congregation were not adequately represented in the study.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

11. Post Card Sent to Pastors with Follow-Up Letter

Mrs. Hargrove:

☐ I have checked my questionnaire, and found that it does not have four complete pages. Please send another.

☐ I have mislaid the questionnaire you sent me. Please send another copy.

Signed ________________________

12. Respondent Postcard Sent with Questionnaire to Session and Congregational Sample

Mrs. Hargrove:

I have completed the questionnaire which you sent me, and have mailed it to you.

Signed ________________________

APPENDIX C

RESPONDENTS AND NON-RESPONDENTS

TABLE C-1

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE

Church	Session			Congregation		
	Contacts	Returns	% Return	Contacts	Returns	% Return
E 1	24	16	67%	27	26	96%
E 2	30	25	83	26	21	83
E 3	Non-Respondent Church					
E 4	22	20	91	19	15	79
E 5	12	10	83	11	9	82
E 6	Non-Respondent Church					
E 7	14	11	79	12	8	67
E 8	15	11	73	15	13	87
E 9	9	6	67	8	7	88
E 10	9	7	78	8	7	88
E 11	9	0	0	7	7	100
E 12	12	7	58	12	4	33
E 13	Non-Respondent Church					
E 14	9	4	44	8	8	100
E 15	9	9	100	11	8	73
E 16	12	9	75	12	10	83
E 17	7	3	43	7	6	86
E 18	9	8	89	10	10	100
E 19	Non-Respondent Church					
E 20	12	8	67	10	7	70
E 21	8	4	50	8	8	100
E 22	7	6	86	8	6	75
E 23	9	8	88	9	6	67
E 24	9	7	78	11	9	82
E 25	9	5	56	5	4	80
E 26	9	8	88	8	7	88
E 27	9	6	67	7	5	71
E 28	6	6	100	6	4	67
E 29	Non-Respondent Church					
E 30	4	4	100	8	6	75
E 31	9	8	88	9	8	88
E 32	8	5	63	10	6	60
E 33	6	5	83	5	5	100
E 34	9	9	100	10	9	90
E 35	3	1	33	3	3	100
E 36	3	3	100	3	3	100
E 37	1	1	100	1	1	100
Total	323	240	74.3%	304	256	84.2%

TABLE C-2

CHARACTERISTICS OF NON-RESPONDENTS

Total Number of Non-Respondents	
Session	83
Congregation	48

Sample of Non-Respondents	
Session	54
Congregation	30

Sample Percentage of Whole	
Session	66%
Congregation	63%

Characteristics Compared with Respondents

	Respondents	Non-Respondents
Age (Congregation)	47.6	"Mid-Adult"[a]
Occupational Status[b]		
Session	3.7	4.0
Congregation	3.7	3.0
Attendance at Worship[c]		
Session	3.0	3.0
Congregation	2.7	1.8

---

[a] As listed on Pastors' Return Form for Non-Respondents.

[b] Computed on the basis of the following scale:

Professional, banking, etc.	6
Executive, Managerial, etc.	5
Technician, Teacher, Student	4
Clerical, Farm, Housewife, retired	3
Skilled Labor	2
Semi-skilled Labor	1

[c] Computed on the basis of the following scale:

Four or more times a week, or "regularly"[a]	3
At least once a month, or "occasionally"[a]	2
Less than once a month or "seldom"[a]	1

APPENDIX D

RESPONSE PATTERNS OF CONGREGATIONS AND PASTORS ON DOCTRINAL ITEMS AND CONSEQUENTIAL ATTITUDES

TABLE D-1

RESPONSE PATTERNS AND CONSENSUS SCORES ON DOCTRINAL QUESTIONS BY CONGREGATION

A. God

	Choice[a]						Consensus Score		
Church	1	2	3	4	5	6	Profile W	Sess.C	Cong.C
E 1	4	1	2	3	5	6	.63	1.73	2.44
E 2	5	1	3	2	4	6	.53	1.29	1.83
E 4	5	1	2	3	4	6	.55	2.03	2.63
E 5	5	2	1	3	4	6	.72	1.83	1.83
E 7	4	1	2	3	5	6	.62	1.89	2.29
E 8	4	1	2	3	5	6	.72	1.54	2.05
E 9	3	1	2	4	5	6	.50	2.00	3.67
E 10	5	1	2	3	4	6	.51	2.14	1.79
E 11[b]	5	3	1	2	4	6	---	----	2.00
E 12	5	1	2	3	4	6	.59	2.21	2.25
E 14	4	3	1.5	1.5	5	6	.64	1.75	1.85
E 15	5	1	2.5	2.5	4	6	.66	2.00	1.75
E 16	5	2	3	1	4	6	.34	2.58	2.20
E 17	4	1	2	3	5	6	.70	2.08	2.33
E 18	5	3	1	2	4	6	.52	2.31	2.15
E 20	5	1	2	3	4	6	.74	1.25	2.43
E 21	4	1	2	3	5	6	.82	1.50	2.19
E 22	4	2	1	3	5	6	.62	1.80	2.50
E 23	5.5	1	2	3	4	5.5	.52	2.00	2.08
E 24	5	2	1	3	4	6	.62	2.13	2.81
E 25	4.5	3	1	2	4.5	6	.27	2.00	1.75
E 26	3.5	1	3.5	2	5	6	.28	2.56	2.32
E 27	5	1	2	3	4	6	.30[c]	1.90	2.60
E 28	4	2	1	3	5	6	.34	3.11	1.91
E 30	2	3.5	1	3.5	5	6	.25[c]	n.a.	1.40
E 31	6	1	2	3	4	5	.38	2.02	2.15
E 32	5	2	1	3	4	6	.59	2.55	2.41
E 33	5	1	2	3.5	3.5	6	.63	1.19	2.80
E 34	5.5	1	2	3	5.5	4	.55	1.67	1.60
E 35[d]									
E 36	5	3	1	2	4	6	.49	1.33	3.00
E 37[d]									

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[a] As numbered on the questionnaire form, Appendix A.

[b] Ranking by pastor only, since none of Session responded.

[c] Score not statistically significant.

[d] Not analyzed as congregation because of smallness of sample.

TABLE D-1

RESPONSE PATTERNS AND CONSENSUS SCORES ON DOCTRINAL QUESTIONS BY CONGREGATION

B. Christ

	Choice[a]				Consensus Score		
Church	1	2	3	4	Profile W	Sess.C	Cong.C
E 1	1	2	3	4	.66	1.59	2.20[e]
E 2	1	2	3	4	.55	1.66	2.16
E 4	1	2	3	4	.67	1.23	1.21
E 5	1	3	2	4	.51	2.00	1.56
E 7	1	2	3	4	.87	1.33	2.13
E 8	1	3	2	4	.61	2.00	2.00
E 9	1	2	3	4	.59	2.00	3.20[e]
E 10	1	2.5	2.5	4	.72	1.18	1.30
E 11[b]	1	2	3	4	---	----	1.29
E 12	1	2	3	4	.67	1.50	1.50
E 14	1	2	3	4	.81	1.38	1.10
E 15	1	2	3	4	.83	2.00	1.71
E 16	2	1	3	4	.52	1.75	3.40[e]
E 17	1.5	1.5	3	4	.38[c]	2.13	4.75[e]
E 18	1	2	3	4	.70	1.62	1.60
E 20	1.5	3	1.5	4	.49	1.44	1.50
E 21	1	2	3	4	1.00	1.50	1.43
E 22	1	2	3	4	.74	1.30	1.17
E 23	3	1	2	4	.47	1.71	2.00
E 24	1.5	1.5	3	4	.55	1.78	2.23
E 25	1	2	3	4	.68	1.20	1.67
E 26	1	2	3	4	.47	1.17	1.32
E 27	1	2	3	4	.85	1.60	2.60
E 28	1	2	3	4	.72	1.39	1.43
E 30	1	2	3	4	.54[c]	1.33	1.12
E 31	1	2	3	4	.66	1.81	1.08
E 32	1.5	1.5	3	4	.63[c]	2.66	2.00
E 33	1.5	1.5	3	4	.58	1.69	1.50
E 34	3	1.5	1.5	4	.88	1.67	1.67
E 35[d]							
E 36	1	2	3	4	.60	1.00	1.00
E 37[d]							

[a] As numbered on the Questionnaire form, Appendix A.

[b] Ranking by pastor only, since none of the Session responded.

[c] Score not statistically significant.

[d] Not analyzed as congregation because of smallness of sample.

[e] Compared with pastor's response only, because of error (p. 82).

TABLE D-1

RESPONSE PATTERNS AND CONSENSUS SCORES ON DOCTRINAL QUESTIONS BY CONGREGATION

C. This Life and the Next

	Choice[a]						Consensus Score		
Church	1	2	3	4	5	6	Profile W	Sess.C	Cong.C
E 1	1	2	3	5	4	6	.78	1.33	1.92
E 2	1	3	2	5	4	6	.47	1.88	2.21
E 4	1	2	3	5	4	6	.75	1.78	1.83
E 5	2	3	1	5	4	6	.69	2.20	1.89
E 7	1	2	3	5	4	6	.90	2.00	2.25
E 8	1	2	3	5	4	6	.69	1.54	2.63
E 9	3	2	1	5	4	6	.72	1.92	2.83
E 10	2	3	1	5	4	6	.60	2.03	1.86
E 11[b]	2	5	1	4	3	6	---	----	2.00
E 12	1	3	2	5	4	6	.59	2.21	1.00
E 14	1	2	3	5	4	6	.68	2.13	1.38
E 15	1	2	3	5	4	6	.92	2.00	2.50
E 16	3	2	1	4.5	4.5	6	.41	2.13	3.05
E 17	1.5	1.5	3	4	5	6	.22[c]	3.00	2.75
E 18	1	2	3	5	4	6	.65	1.69	1.30
E 20	1	2	3	5	4	6	.75	1.50	1.57
E 21	1	2	3	5	4	6	.91	1.50	1.50
E 22	1	2	3	4	5	6	.70	1.95	1.67
E 23	1	2	3	5	4	6	.42	2.00	2.50
E 24	1	3	2	5	4	6	.51	2.29	1.67
E 25	1	2	3	4	5	6	.68	1.40	1.50
E 26	1	3	2	5	4	6	.31	1.17	1.71
E 27	1	2	4	5	3	6	.61	1.33	1.20
E 28	1	3	2	5	4	6	.63	1.25	1.50
E 30	2	2	2	5.5	4	5.5	.40[c]	1.63	2.00
E 31	1	2	3	5	4	6	.57	2.58	2.50
E 32	3	1.5	1.5	5	4	6	.67	3.80	3.33
E 33	1	3	2	5	4	6	.51	1.93	1.00
E 34	3	1	2	4	5	6	.65	2.00	3.00
E 35[d]									
E 36	2	3	1	5	4	6	.65	1.33	2.67
E 37[d]									

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[a] As numbered on the questionnaire form, Appendix A.

[b] Ranking by pastor only, since none of Session responded.

[c] Score not statistically significant.

[d] Not analyzed as congregation because of smallness of sample.

TABLE D-1

RESPONSE PATTERNS AND CONSENSUS SCORES ON DOCTRINAL QUESTIONS BY CONGREGATION

D. Sin and Evil

	Choice[a]						Consensus Scores		
Church	1	2	3	4	5	6	Profile W	Sess.C	Cong.C
E 1	3	2	1	4	5	6	.22	1.84	2.24
E 2	6	3	1	2	5	4	.23	2.24	2.82
E 4	4	1	2	3	6	5	.27	2.38	2.61
E 5	4	1	2	3	5	6	.56	1.91	2.56
E 7	3	1	2	4	5.5	5.5	.31	2.00	3.13
E 8	3	1	2	4.5	4.5	6	.36	3.00	2.27
E 9	4	1.5	1.5	3	6	5	.28	3.25	2.92
E 10	2.5	1	2.5	4	6	5	.41	2.29	1.89
E 11[b]	1	3	2	4	5	6	---	----	1.67
E 12	3	2	1	4	5	6	.41	1.57	1.75
E 14	1	2	3	4	6	5	.56	1.50	1.63
E 15	4	2	1	3	5	6	.35	2.22	1.29
E 16	6	5	2	1	4	3	.35	2.13	1.90
E 17	3	1.5	1.5	4	5	6	.25[c]	3.83	2.83
E 18	3	2	1	4	6	5	.54	1.33	2.10
E 20	6	2.5	1	2.5	4.5	4.5	.24	1.64	2.64
E 21	3	1.5	1.5	4	6	5	.59[c]	1.50	2.31
E 22	1	4	2	3	5.5	5.5	.45	2.39	2.92
E 23	6	5	2	1	4	3	.34	2.33	3.20
E 24	1	3	2	4	5	6	.48	2.32	2.13
E 25	3	2	1	4	5	6	.56	3.00	1.20
E 26	2.5	2.5	1	4	6	5	.41	2.21	1.79
E 27	2	3	1	4	6	5	.25[c]	1.70	4.20
E 28	1	3	2	4	5.5	5.5	.61	1.50	2.28
E 30	6	3	1	3	3	5	.34[c]	2.04	5.55
E 31	4	1	2	3	6	5	.13[c]	2.75	2.88
E 32	4	2	1	3	5	6	.57	2.25	2.83
E 33	1	2	3	4	6	5	.54	1.60	1.20
E 34	6	4	1	3	5	2	.51	1.55	3.00
E 35[d]									
E 36	2	2	2	4	5	6	.15[c]	2.00	3.00
E 37[d]									

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[a] As numbered on the questionnaire form, Appendix A.

[b] Ranking by pastor only, since none of the Session responded.

[c] Score not statistically significant.

[d] Not analyzed as congregation because of smallness of sample.

TABLE D-1

RESPONSE PATTERNS AND CONSENSUS SCORES ON DOCTRINAL QUESTIONS BY CONGREGATION

E. The Bible

	Choice[a]						Consensus Scores		
Church	1	2	3	4	5	6	Profile W	Sess.C	Cong.C
E 1	3	1	2	4	5	6	.75	1.37	2.04
E 2	3	1	2	4	5	6	.70	1.64	1.98
E 4	3	1	2	4	5	6	.72	1.53	1.67
E 5	4	1	2	3	5	6	.56	1.91	2.56
E 7	3	1	2	4	5	6	.63	1.80	2.21
E 8	3	1	2	4	5	6	.89	1.40	1.53
E 9	3	1	2	4	5	6	.72	1.72	1.83
E 10	3	1	2	4	5	6	.79	1.71	1.71
E 11[b]	3	1	2	4	5	6	---	----	1.79
E 12	3	1	2	4	5	6	.69	1.96	1.75
E 14	2	1	3	4	5	6	.84	1.20	1.88
E 15	3	1	2	4	5	6	.79	1.78	2.25
E 16	3	2	1	4	5	6	.47	1.88	1.90
E 17	3	2	1	4	5	6	.61	1.50	2.33
E 18	3	1.5	1.5	4	5	6	.64	1.95	1.50
E 20	3	1	2	4	5	6	.68	1.63	2.29
E 21	3	1	2	4	5	6	.85	2.00	1.38
E 22	2	1	3	5	4	6	.69	1.80	1.83
E 23	3	2	1	4.5	4.5	6	.76	1.14	1.17
E 24	3	1.5	1.5	4	5	6	.38	1.88	1.67
E 25	2	1	3	4	5	6	.61	2.20	1.67
E 26	3	1	2	4	5	6	.56	2.29	1.71
E 27	3	2	1	4	5	6	.73	1.41	1.70
E 28	1	2	3	4	5	6	.77	1.50	2.06
E 30	3	1	2	4	5	6	.63[c]	1.50	1.58
E 31	3	2	1	4	5	6	.73	1.50	1.50
E 32	3	2	1	4	5	6	.76	1.60	1.58
E 33	3	1	2	4	5	6	.80	1.60	1.60
E 34	4.5	2	1	3	4.5	6	.80	1.22	1.89
E 35[d]									
E 36	3	1	2	4	5	6	.57	1.67	2.33
E 37[d]									

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[a] As numbered on the questionnaire form, Appendix A.

[b] Ranking by pastor only, since none of the Session responded.

[c] Score not statistically significant.

[d] Not analyzed as congregation because of smallness of sample.

TABLE D-2

RESPONSE PATTERNS AND CONSENSUS SCORES ON ITEMS OF CONSEQUENTIAL ATTITUDES

A. The Christian Life: Profile Report of Emphasis

	Choice[a]										"W" Score
Church	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
E 1	1	3	4	2	5	9	6	10	8	7	.21
E 2	1	3	2	4.5	4.5	6	9	10	8	7	.21
E 4	1	4	2	5	3	6	8	10	9	7	.38
E 5	5	6	1	3	8	2	9	10	7	4	.51
E 7	1	7	5	3	4	6	8	10	9	7	.41
E 8	1	3	4	2	5	9	6	8	10	7	.31
E 9	1	3	2	4	6	5	10	9	7	8	.71
E 10	1.5	3	6	1.5	5	4	7	9	8	10	.23[c]
E 11[b]	1	3	2	4	9	8	10	7	5	6	---
E 12	3.5	3.5	1.5	5	1.5	7	6	8	9	10	.37
E 14	1	3.5	3.5	2	6	7	5	8	9	10	.55
E 15	2	4	3	5	1	7	6	9	10	8	.37
E 16	9	10	3	6	2	8	7	5	4	1	.25
E 17	2	4	1	4	4	6	7.5	10	9	7.5	.22
E 18	1	3	5	2	4	6	7	10	9	8	.57
E 20	1	2.5	4	2.5	5	6.5	6.5	10	9	8	.36
E 21	1	4	5	2	3	10	6	7	8	9	.87
E 22	2	4.5	1	3	7	4.5	6	8	9.5	9.5	.81
E 23	8	3.5	1	6	3.5	9	7	10	5	1	.13[c]
E 24	1	2	4	8	10	7	3	5	9	6	.13[c]
E 25	1	2	3	5	4	10	6.5	6.5	8	9	.25[c]
E 26	1	2	4	3	5	6	8	9	10	7	.50
E 27	3.5	10	5	3.5	6	9	2	7	1	8	.12[c]
E 28	1	4	3	2	6	5	8	7	9	10	.38
E 30	All items rated equal										
E 31	1	4	2	3	5.5	5.5	9	10	8	7	.17[c]
E 32	2	4	8	7	6	5	9	10	3	1	.33[c]
E 33	1	3	2	4	9	5.5	5.5	10	8	7	.56
E 34	8	9	4	10	5	3	7	6	2	1	.50
E 35[d]											
E 36	1	6	4	4	3	4	7	10	8.5	8.5	.34[c]
E 37[d]											

[a] As numbered on questionnaire form, Appendix A.

[b] Rankings by pastor only, since session did not respond.

[c] Score not statistically significant.

[d] Not analyzed by congregation because of smallness of sample.

TABLE D-2

RESPONSE PATTERNS AND CONSENSUS SCORES ON ITEMS OF CONSEQUENTIAL ATTITUDES

B. The Christian Life: Individual Session Members' Rankings

	Choice[a]										"W" Score
Church	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
E 1	1	5	4	2	3	9	6	10	8	7	.30
E 2	1	5	2	4	3	8	6	10	9	7	.11
E 4	1	4	2	5	3	6	7	10	9	8	.34
E 5	1.5	4	5	3	7	6	9	10	8	1.5	.24[c]
E 7	1	5	2.5	6	4	10	7	8	9	2.5	.34
E 8	1	5	4	3	2	10	6.5	8.5	8.5	6.5	.41
E 9	1	4.5	2	4.5	3	6	7	10	9	8	.48
E 10	1	3	4	2	7	5	6	10	8.5	8.5	.29[c]
E 11[b]	No response										
E 12	2	4	1	6	3	8	5	7	10	9	.41
E 14	1	5	3	2	4	7	6	8	9	10	.47
E 15	7	5.5	1	9	2	5.5	3	8	10	4	.21
E 16	8	10	6	5	4	9	3	7	2	1	.20[c]
E 17	1	2	4.5	3	7.5	4.5	6	9	10	7.5	.55[c]
E 18	2	3	6	1	6	4	6	9.5	9.5	8	.38
E 20	1	4	5	3	2	8	7	10	9	6	.25[c]
E 21	1	3	4	5	6	8.5	2	7	10	8.5	.38[c]
E 22	2	3	4	1	5	6.5	8	6.5	9	10	.85
E 23	4.5	7	1	6	2	9	8	10	3	4.5	.13[c]
E 24	1	2	5	7	10	9	6	8	3.5	3.5	.36[c]
E 25	1	8.5	3.5	3.5	2	8.5	5.5	10	5.5	7	.28[c]
E 26	2	6	1	3	4	10	5	8	9	7	.25
E 27	1	7	3	2	6	10	4	9	8	5	.11[c]
E 28	2	4	3	1	7	5	6	8	10	9	.28[c]
E 30	No response										
E 31	2	8	1	9	5	7	6	10	4	3	.11[c]
E 32	6	4	3	10	7	8	1.5	9	5	1.5	.27[c]
E 33	1	2	4	3	9	7.5	7.5	10	6	5	.52
E 34	6	7	3	10	4.5	4.5	8	9	2	1	.43
E 35[d]											
E 36	1	2.5	4	2.5	5.5	7	5.5	9	10	8	.66[c]
E 37[d]											

[a] As numbered in the questionnaire form, Appendix A.

[b] No Session respondees.

[c] Score not statistically significant.

[d] Not analyzed as congregation because of smallness of sample.

TABLE D-2

RESPONSE PATTERNS AND CONSENSUS SCORES ON ITEMS OF CONSEQUENTIAL ATTITUDES

C. The Christian Life: Individual Congregation Members' Rankings

	Choice[a]										"W" Score
Church	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
E 1	3	6	2	5	1	8.5	4	7	8.5	10	.29
E 2	2	6	1	7	3	10	5	8	9	4	.18
E 4	3	6	1	5	2	7	4	9	10	8	.26
E 5	1	5	2	4	3	9	7	10	8	6	.37
E 7	1	8	2.5	7	2.5	9	4	10	6	5	.12[c]
E 8	8	9	2	5	1	6	3	10	7	4	.26
E 9	2	7	4	9	5.5	10	1	8	5.5	3	.27
E 10	1	3	4	2	6	7	5	10	8	9	.65
E 11	1	7	2	3	4	5.5	8	10	9	5.5	.26[c]
E 12	1	5	3	4	2	6	7	10	8.5	8.5	.33[c]
E 14	1	2	4	3	6	9	5	10	8	7	.60
E 15	4	8	1	9	2	10	3	5	7	6	.38
E 16	4.5	8	1	7	2	4.5	6	9	10	3	.33
E 17	1	4	3	6.5	2	10	6.5	8	9	5	.22[c]
E 18	1	3	5	2	4	6	7	10	9	8	.35
E 20	1	2.5	4	2.5	5	6.5	6.5	10	9	8	.36
E 21	1	5	3	4	2	8	6	10	9	7	.31
E 22	1	5	2	3	4	7	6	9	10	8	.57
E 23	2	3	1	9	4	5	6	7.5	10	7.5	.42
E 24	1	2.5	2.5	4	5	9	6	8	10	7	.51
E 25	1	6	3.5	3.5	2	7.5	5	10	7.5	9	.73
E 26	1	4	5	2	6	8	3	10	9	7	.37
E 27	3	9	1	5.5	7.5	10	2	7.5	5.5	4	.26[c]
E 28	1	3	2	4	5	9	6	8	10	7	.69
E 30	1	5	4	2	3	6	7	9	10	8	.35
E 31	7	8	2	5	3	6	4	10	9	1	.17[c]
E 32	3.5	4	2	6	1	8	5	9	7	3.5	.21[c]
E 33	1	2.5	2.5	4	6	5	7	10	9	8	.64
E 34	4	9.5	1	9.5	5	6.5	3	8	6.5	2	.12[c]
E 35[d]											
E 36	1	3.5	3.5	8.5	2	10	5	8.5	7	6	.46[c]
E 37[d]											

[a] As numbered on questionnaire form, Appendix A.

[c] Score not statistically significant.

[d] Not analyzed as congregation because of smallness of sample.

TABLE D-2

RESPONSE PATTERNS AND CONSENSUS SCORES ON ITEMS OF CONSEQUENTIAL ATTITUDES

D. The Role of the Church: Profile Report of Emphasis

	Choice[a]							"W" Score
Church	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
E 1	1	2	4	3	6	5	7	.39
E 2	1	2	4	3	5	6	7	.34
E 4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	.66
E 5	1	3	6.5	2	5	4	6.5	.36
E 7	1	2	4	3	5	6	7	.45
E 8	1	3	4	2	6	5	7	.41
E 9	1	2	4	3	6	5	7	.69
E 10	2	1	4	3	5	6	7	.54
E 11[b]	1	4	6	2	5	3	7	---
E 12	1	2	3.5	3.5	5	6	7	.31
E 14	1.5	1.5	4	3	5	6	7	.57
E 15	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	.48
E 16	2	1	6.5	3	6.5	4	5	.49
E 17	1	2	3.5	3.5	5	6	7	.70
E 18	1	2	3	4	6	5	7	.34
E 20	1	3.5	3.5	2	5.5	5.5	7	.16[c]
E 21	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	.90
E 22	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	.62
E 23	1	2	3.5	3.5	5	7	6	.56
E 24	1	2	3.5	6	3.5	5	7	.55
E 25	1	2	4.5	6	3	4.5	7	.51
E 26	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	.51
E 27	1	3	2	6	4	5	7	.42
E 28	1.5	1.5	3	4	6	5	7	.43
E 30	All Rated Equal							
E 31	1	2	5	3	6	4	7	.18[c]
E 32	1	2	5	4	6	3	7	.23[c]
E 33	3	1.5	1.5	4	6	5	7	.41[c]
E 34	3	4	7	1	6	2	5	.60
E 35[d]								
E 36	1.5	1.5	4	3	5.5	5.5	7	.25[c]
E 37[d]								

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[a] As numbered on questionnaire form, Appendix A.

[b] Ranking by Pastor only, since none of Session responded.

[c] Score not statistically significant.

[d] Not analyzed as congregation because of smallness of sample.

TABLE D-2

RESPONSE PATTERNS AND CONSENSUS SCORES ON ITEMS OF CONSEQUENTIAL ATTITUDES

E. The Role of the Church: Individual Session Members' Rankings

	Choice[a]							"W" Score
Church	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
E 1	1	3	4	2	6	5	7	.35
E 2	1	3	4	2	6	5	7	.25
E 4	1	2	4	3	5	6	7	.37
E 5	2	5	6	1	4	3	7	.18[c]
E 7	1	3	2	4	5	7	6	.49
E 8	1	3	4	2	5	7	6	.68
E 9	1	3	5.5	2	7	4	5.5	.37[c]
E 10	1	2	5	3	4	6	7	.40
E 11[b]								
E 12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	.32
E 14	1.5	1.5	5	3	4	6	7	.75
E 15	1	3.5	2	3.5	6	5	6	.12[c]
E 16	2	1	7	4	5	3	6	.23[c]
E 17	1	2	4	3	7	5.5	5.5	.44[c]
E 18	3	6	4.5	1	2	4.5	7	.15[c]
E 20	1	2	7	5	4	3	6	.20[c]
E 21	2	1	3.5	5	6.5	3.5	6.5	.53
E 22	1	3	2	4	5	6	7	.64
E 23	1	3.5	3.5	2	6.5	5	6.5	.47
E 24	1.5	3.5	1.5	5	3.5	6	7	.24[c]
E 25	1	3	2	5	4	6	7	.48
E 26	1.5	1.5	3	4	5	6	7	.19[c]
E 27	1	4.5	3	6	4.5	2	7	.36
E 28	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	.77
E 30[d]								
E 31	2	1	4	3	6	5	7	.26[c]
E 32	1	3	6	7	4	2	5	.56
E 33	3	4	1	2	6.5	5	6.5	.33[c]
E 34	3	5	6	1	7	2	4	.48
E 35[e]								
E 36	2.5	1	4	2.5	5	6	7	.86
E 37[e]								

[a] As numbered in questionnaire form, Appendix A.

[b] None of Session responded.

[c] Score not statistically significant.

[d] All items ranked equal by all respondents.

[e] Not analyzed as congregation because of smallness of sample.

TABLE D-2

RESPONSE PATTERNS AND CONSENSUS SCORES ON ITEMS OF CONSEQUENTIAL ATTITUDES

F. The Role of the Church: Individual Congregation Members' Ranking

	Choice[a]							"W" Score
Church	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
E 1	1	2	5	6	4	3	7	.28
E 2	1	3	4	2	5	6	7	.22
E 4	2	1	3	4	5	6	7	.42
E 5	1	2	4	3	7	5	6	.37
E 7	1	2.5	2.5	4	5	6	7	.46
E 8	4	3	1	2	5	6	7	.12[c]
E 9	1	4.5	4.5	6	3	2	7	.15[c]
E 10	1	3	2	4	6	5	7	.65
E 11	1	2	3	4	5.5	5.5	7	.30
E 12	1	2.5	2.5	4	5.5	5.5	7	.63
E 14	1	3	2	4	5.5	5.5	7	.68
E 15	1	2	6	3	4	5	7	.26[c]
E 16	1	3	6.5	2	5	4	6.5	.15[c]
E 17	1	4	6	5	3	2	7	.55
E 18	1	2	4	3	5.5	5.5	7	.55
E 20	1	2	6	3	7	4	5	.26[c]
E 21	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	.74
E 22	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	.40
E 23	1	4	2	3	5.5	5.5	7	.38
E 24	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	.48
E 25	2	3	1	4	5.5	5.5	7	.48[c]
E 26	2	1	3	4	6	5	7	.56
E 27	3.5	1	2	6	3.5	5	7	.43
E 28	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	.72
E 30	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	.45
E 31	3	2	6	4.5	4.5	1	7	.03[c]
E 32	2	6	1	3.5	5	3.5	7	.12[c]
E 33	1	2.5	2.5	6	5	4	7	.33[c]
E 34	1	3	5	2	6	4	7	.26
E 35[b]								
E 36	1	2	3	4	7	5.5	5.5	.59[c]
E 37[b]								

[a] As numbered on questionnaire form, Appendix A.

[b] Not analyzed as congregation because of smallness of sample.

[c] Score not statistically significant.

TABLE D-2

RESPONSE PATTERNS AND CONSENSUS SCORES ON ITEMS OF CONSEQUENTIAL ATTITUDES

G. Changes in World and Community, All Groups

Church	Profile Choice[a]			W Score	Ind. Sess. Choice[a]			W Score	Cong. Memb. Choice[a]			W Score
	1	2	3		1	2	3		1	2	3	
E 1	3	1	2	.13	2	1	3	.10	2	1	3	.45
E 2	3	1	2	.74	3	1	2	.46	3	1	2	.51
E 4	3	1	2	.29	3	1	2	.25	2	1	3	.64
E 5	3	1	2	.55	3	1	2	.33	3	1	2	.84
E 7	3	1	2	.77	3	1	2	.53	2	1	3	.47
E 8	3	1	2	.36	3	1	2	.42	2	1	3	.36
E 9	3	1	2	.19	3	1	2	.47	2	1	3	.40
E 10	3	1	2	.11	3	1	2	.39	2.5	1	2.5	.24
E 11[b]	3	2	1	---	-	-	-	---	3	1	2	.76
E 12	2	1	3	.19	2	1	3	.53	3	1	2	.67
E 14	2	1	3	.77	2	1	3	.77	2	1	3	.43
E 15	2	1	3	.38	3	1	2	.31	3	1	2	.12
E 16	3	1	2	.48	2	1	3	.41	3	1	2	.21
E 17	3	1	2	.25	2	1	3	.45	3	1	2	.76
E 18	3	1	2	.20	2	1	3	.86	3	1	2	.43
E 20	3	1	2	.03	1	2	3	.07	3	1	2	.14
E 21	2	1	3	.78	2	1	3	.56	3	1	2	.61
E 22	3	2	1	.31	3	1	2	.43	3	1	2	.44
E 23	2	1	3	.19	3	1	2	.41	3	1	2	.36
E 24	2	1	3	.50	3	1	2	.36	3	1	2	.25
E 25	1	2	3	.69	2	1	3	.64	2	1	3	.44
E 26	2.5	2	2.5	.19	2	1	3	.26	3	1	2	.27
E 27	3	1	2	.26	2	1	3	.15	3	1	2	.52
E 28	2	1	3	.13	3	1	2	.10	2	1	3	.48
E 30	2	1	3	.45	2	1	3	.69	1	2	3	.16
E 31	3	1	2	.07	2	1	3	.30	3	1	2	.14
E 32	3	1	2	.52	3	1	2	.48	3	1.5	1.5	.73
E 33	3	1	2	.65	2	1	3	.39	2	1	3	.73
E 34	3	1	2	.54	3	1	2	.34	3	1	2	.35
E 35[c]												
E 36	1	2	3	.01	1	2	3	.58	1	2	3	.58
E 37[c]												

[a] As numbered on questionnaire form, Appendix A.

[b] Pastor ranking only, since none of Session responded.

[c] Not analyzed as congregation because of smallness of sample.

TABLE D-3

RESPONSES OF PASTORS ON DOCTRINAL QUESTIONS

A. God

	Choice[a]					
Church	1	2	3	4	5	6
E 1	4	1	2	3	6	5
E 2	6	1	4	5	2	3
E 4	6	1	4	2	5	3
E 5[b]	5	2	1	3	4	6
E 7	3	1	2	4	5	6
E 8	5	1	2	3	4	6
E 9[b]	1	2	3	4	5	6
E 10	3	2	1	4	5	6
E 11	5	3	1	2	4	6
E 12	6	1	2	3	4	5
E 14[c]	1	2	3	4	5	6
E 15	5	1	2	3	4	6
E 16[b]	6	1	5	4	3	2
E 17	4	1	3	2	5	6
E 18	4	3	1	2	5	6
E 20	5	1	2	3	4	6
E 21	No Pastor					
E 22[c]	5	1	2	3	4	6
E 23[b]	4	1	2	3	5	6
E 24	4.5	2	1	3	4.5	6
E 25[c]	3	5	4	2	1	6
E 26	2	1	3	4	5	6
E 27	2	1	4	3	5	6
E 28	2	1	5	3	5	5
E 30	No Pastor					
E 31	6	1	5	3	2	4
E 32[b]	3	2	1	4	5	6
E 33[c]	5	2	1	3	4	6
E 34[b]	2	1	3	4	5	6
E 35	6	1	2	3	4	5
E 36	4	4	1	4	4	4
E 37	No Pastor					

[a] As numbered on the questionnaire form, Appendix A.

[b] Identified as "secular" church.

[c] Identified as "sacred" church.

TABLE D-3

RESPONSE PATTERNS OF PASTORS ON DOCTRINAL ITEMS

B. Christ

	Choice[a]					
Church	1	2	3	4	5	6
E 1	1	2	4	5	3	6
E 2	5	1	2	4	3	6
E 4	2	1	4	5	3	6
E 5[b]	1	3	5	6	2	4
E 7	2	1	3	5	4	6
E 8	1	2	4	5	3	6
E 9[b]	1	2	4	5	3	6
E 10	1	3	5	4	2	6
E 11	1	2	3	5	4	6
E 12	2	1	4	5	3	6
E 14[c]	1	2	3	4	5	6
E 15	1	3	2	5	4	6
E 16[b]	5	2	4	6	1	3
E 17	2	1	4	5	3	6
E 18	1	2	5	4	3	6
E 20	1	2	3	5	4	6
E 21	No Pastor					
E 22[c]	1	2	4	5	3	6
E 23[b]	4	2	1	5	3	6
E 24	1	2	5	4	3	6
E 25[c]	2	4	5	6	1	3
E 26	1	2	3	4	5	6
E 27	1	4	2	3	5	6
E 28	1	2	5	5	3	5
E 30	No Pastor					
E 31	5	1	2	4	3	6
E 32	4	2	3	5	1	6
E 33	1	2	5	4	3	6
E 34[b]	2	1	3	5	4	6
E 35	5	1	4	3	2	6
E 36	4	1	4	4	4	4
E 37	No Pastor					

[a] As numbered on questionnaire form, Appendix A.

[b] Identified as "secular" church.

[c] Identified as "sacred" church.

TABLE D-3

RESPONSE PATTERNS OF PASTORS ON DOCTRINAL ITEMS

C. This Life and the Next

	Choice[a]					
Church	1	2	3	4	5	6
E 1	2	3	1	5	4	6
E 2	2	4	1	3	5	6
E 4	4	3	1	2	5	6
E 5[a]	2	3	1	4	5	6
E 7	2	1	3	5	4	6
E 8	1	3	2	4	5	6
E 9[b]	3	2	1	5	4	6
E 10	3	2	1	4	5	6
E 11	2	5	1	4	3	6
E 12	2	3	1	4	5	6
E 14[c]	1	2	3	4	5	6
E 15	1	3	2	5	4	6
E 16[b]	6	3	1	2	4	5
E 17	1	3	2	4	5	6
E 18	4	1	2	3	5	6
E 20	3	2	1	4	5	6
E 21	No Pastor					
E 22[c]	1	3	2	4	5	6
E 23[b]	4	2	6	1	3	5
E 24	1	3	2	5	4	6
E 25[c]	1	2	3	4	5	6
E 26	1	2	3	4	5	6
E 27	1	2	4	3	5	6
E 28	2	3	1	5	5	5
E 30	No Pastor					
E 31	4	2	1	3	5	6
E 32	3	2	1	4	5	6
E 33[c]	1	3	2	5	4	6
E 34[b]	4	2	1	3	5	6
E 35	2	3	1	4	5	6
E 36	4.5	1.5	1.5	4.5	4.5	4.5
E 37	No Pastor					

[a] As numbered in questionnaire form, Appendix A.

[b] Identified as "secular" church.

[c] Identified as "sacred" church.

TABLE D-3

RESPONSE PATTERNS OF PASTORS ON DOCTRINAL ITEMS

D. Sin and Evil

	Choice[a]					
Church	1	2	3	4	5	6
E 1	6	4	1	2	5	3
E 2	6	1	2	4	5	3
E 4	2	1	4	5	6	3
E 5[b]	4	1	2	3	6	5
E 7	2	1	4	5	6	3
E 8	2	1	3	4	5	6
E 9[b]	2	1	3	4	6	5
E 10	2	1	3	5	4	6
E 11	1	3	2	4	5	6
E 12	3	2	1	4	6	5
E 14[c]	1	4	4	4	4	4
E 15	2	1	3	5	4	6
E 16[b]	6	5	1	2	4	3
E 17	3	2	1	4	5	6
E 18	3	1	2	4	5	6
E 20	1	2	3	4	5	6
E 21	No Pastor					
E 22[c]	1	2	3	4	5	6
E 23[b]	6	2	4	1	3	5
E 24	2	1	3	4	5	6
E 25[c]	3	2	1	4	6	5
E 26	2	1	3	4	5	6
E 27	1	2	4	5	3	6
E 28	2	5	3	1	5	5
E 30	No Pastor					
E 31	6	4	1	3	5	2
E 32[b]	4	3	1	2	6	5
E 33[c]	2	1	3	4	5	6
E 34[b]	6	2	1	3	5	4
E 35	5	3	1	2	6	4
E 36	4	4	1	4	4	4
E 37	No Pastor					

[a] As numbered in questionnaire form, Appendix A.

[b] Identified as "secular" church.

[c] Identified as "sacred" church.

TABLE D-3

RESPONSE PATTERNS OF PASTORS ON DOCTRINAL ITEMS

E. The Bible

	Choice[a]					
Church	1	2	3	4	5	6
E 1	2	1	3	4	5	6
E 2	5	2	1	4	3	6
E 4	3	2	1	4	5	6
E 5[b]	6	3	1	2	4	5
E 7	2	1	3	4	5	6
E 8	3	1	2	4	5	6
E 9[b]	2	3	1	4	5	6
E 10	2	1	3	4	5	6
E 11	3	1	2	4	5	6
E 12	2	1	3	4	5	6
E 14[c]	2	2	2	5	5	5
E 15	3	2	1	4	5	6
E 16[b]	6	4	1	2	3	5
E 17	3	2	1	4	5	6
E 18	3	1	2	4	5	6
E 20	3	1	2	4	5	6
E 21	No Pastor					
E 22[c]	1	2	3	5	4	6
E 23[b]	4	2	1	5	3	6
E 24	3	1	2	4	5	6
E 25[c]	1	4	5	2	3	6
E 26	2	1	3	4	5	6
E 27	3	1	2	4	5	6
E 28	4.5	1	2	4.5	4.5	4.5
E 30	No Pastor					
E 31	5	2	1	4	3	6
E 32[b]	4	2	1	3	5	6
E 33[c]	3	1	2	4	5	6
E 34[b]	3	2	1	4	5	6
E 35	4	3	1	2	5	6
E 36	4	4	1	4	4	4
E 37	No Pastor					

[a] As numbered on the questionnaire form, Appendix A.

[b] Identified as "secular" church.

[c] Identified as "sacred" church.

TABLE D-4

RESPONSE PATTERNS OF PASTORS ON ITEMS OF CONSEQUENTIAL ATTITUDE

A. The Christian Life

	Choice[a]									
Church	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E 1	6	5	1	3	10	2	9	8	7	4
E 2	8	7	4	3	2	1	10	9	6	5
E 4	6	10	2	5	7	1	9	8	4	3
E 5[b]	5	6	2	4	8	1	10	9	7	3
E 7	4	3	5	2	6	1	9	10	8	7
E 8	1	2	7	8	10	6	5	4	9	3
E 9[b]	1	2	10	3	8	4	9	7	5	6
E 10	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	9.5	9.5
E 11	1	3	2	4	9	8	10	7	5	6
E 12	10	9	1	2	3	4	8	7	5	6
E 14[c]	1	4	5	2	7	6	3	8	9	10
E 15	4	5	2	1	3	6	7	9	8	10
E 16[b]	8	9	7	10	4	1	6	5	3	2
E 17	2	1	3	6	7	8	10	9	5	4
E 18	1	2	7	3	8	4	10	9	6	5
E 20	1	4	2	6	5	4	10	9	8	7
E 21	No Pastor									
E 22[c]	3	6	1	4	7	2	5	8	10	9
E 23[b]	6	4	1	7.5	5	8	2	3	7.5	10
E 24	5	4	1	7	6	8	3	2	9	10
E 25[c]	5	1	6	4	7	8	2	3	9	10
E 26	2	3	5	4	9.5	1	9.5	7	7	7
E 27	4	5	6	7	3	8	2	1	10	9
E 28	1	4	3	5	2	6	7	8	9	10
E 30	No Pastor									
E 31	6	8	7	2	9	1	5	10	4	3
E 32[b]	1	3	6	8	7	5	10	9	4	2
E 33[c]	5	4	1	7	6	8	3	2	9	10
E 34	7.5	7.5	7.5	7.5	7.5	2	7.5	4	2	2
E 35	6.5	6.5	2	6.5	2	2	10	6.5	6.5	6.5
E 36	5	6.5	4	3	1	2	10	6.5	6.5	6.5
E 37	No Pastor									

[a] As numbered in questionnaire form, Appendix A.

[b] Identified as "secular" church.

[c] Identified as "sacred" church.

TABLE D-4

RESPONSE PATTERNS OF PASTORS ON ITEMS OF CONSEQUENTIAL ATTITUDE

B. The Role of the Church

	Choice[a]						
Church	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
E 1	2	3	5	1	7	4	6
E 2	2	3	7	1	6	4	5
E 4	2	4	7	1	3	5	6
E 5[b]	2	4	7	1	6	5	3
E 7	2	6	7	1	5	3	4
E 8	1	3	5	2	6	4	7
E 9[b]	1	2	7	3	6	4	5
E 10	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	7
E 11	1	4	6	2	5	3	7
E 12	5	6	7	1	4	3	2
E 14[c]	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	7
E 15	1	2	7	5	4	3	6
E 16[b]	4	5	7	1	6	2	3
E 17	1	4	3	2	5	6	7
E 18	1	3	7	2	6	4	5
E 20	5	7	6	4	3	2	1
E 21	No Pastor						
E 22[c]	1	2	6	3	5	4	7
E 23[b]	2	3	1	5	4	6	7
E 24	2	1	5	4	3	6	7
E 25[c]	3	4	5	6	1	2	7
E 26	1.5	3	4	1.5	5	6	7
E 27	1	2	4	5	3	6	7
E 28	3	1	7	2	6	4	5
E 30	No Pastor						
E 31	5	4	7	1	6	2	3
E 32[b]	1	6	5	2	7	3	4
E 33[c]	2	1	3	4	5	6	7
E 34	2.5	5	6.5	2.5	6.5	2.5	2.5
E 35	2	2	4.5	2	6.5	4.5	6.5
E 36	1	2	4	3	6	5	7
E 37	No Pastor						

[a] As numbered in questionnaire form, Appendix A.

[b] Identified as "secular" church.

[c] Identified as "sacred" church.

TABLE D-4

RESPONSE PATTERNS OF PASTORS ON ITEMS OF CONSEQUENTIAL ATTITUDE

C. Changes in World and Community

	Choice[a]		
Church	1	2	3
E 1	3	2	1
E 2	3	2	1
E 4	3	1	2
E 5[b]	3	1	2
E 7	No Answer		
E 8	3	2	1
E 9	3	2	1
E 10	2	3	1
E 11	3	2	1
E 12	3	2	1
E 14[c]	2.5	1	2.5
E 15	3	2	1
E 16[b]	3	2	1
E 17	3	2	1
E 18	3	2	1
E 20	3	2	1
E 21	No Pastor		
E 22[c]	3	2	1
E 23[b]	1	2	3
E 24	2	1	3
E 25[c]	1	2	3
E 26	3	2	1
E 27	2	1	3
E 28	3	2	1
E 30	No Pastor		
E 31	3	2	1
E 32[b]	3	2	1
E 33[c]	2	1	3
E 34[b]	2.5	2.5	1
E 35	3	2	1
E 36	2.5	2.5	1
E 37	No Pastor		

[a] As numbered on questionnaire form, Appendix A.

[b] Identified as "secular" church.

[c] Identified as "sacred" church.

APPENDIX E

RESPONSE PATTERNS OF SECULARLY DEVIANT CONGREGATIONS

APPENDIX E

Response Patterns of Deviant Congregations

E 5

God is a force both within and beyond man, who is involved in human affairs, though above them. Jesus is the Son of God, miraculously conceived by the Holy Spirit, and born of the Virgin Mary. Eternity is a quality of life which can begin here and now. There are forces of evil in this world which are beyond any human agency. The Bible was written by men inspired by God, who said what He wanted them to say.

As to the Christian life, ranked first as a congregational emphasis was being kind and loving to others, although both Session members and individuals and congregation members ranked first daily prayer and Bible reading. Again, the second ranking item of congregational emphasis--being a servant of all--was not shared by individuals, who ranked as second community responsibility (on the part of Session members) or being kind and loving (congregation members). In fact, the servant role was ranked next to last by congregation members, and in the lower half by Session members as individuals. Least acceptable as a congregational emphasis was being responsible, hard-working, and thrifty. Session and congregation shared this opinion. The chief role of the Church was seen by members of the congregation and pastor and Session members reporting congregational emphasis as the provision of a place of fellowship and worship, although Session members as individuals ranked first the training of members to serve the world. Ranked lowest by Session members and as a congregational emphasis was activity in international affairs, while this gave place among congregation members to the enforcement of personal morality in such areas as drunkenness and sexual license.

E 9

God is a force both within and beyond man, who is involved in human affairs, though above them. Christ is the Son of God, miraculously conceived by the Holy Spirit, and born of the Virgin Mary. Eternity is a quality of life which can begin here and now. While there are forces for evil in this world which are beyond any human agency, most things that are bad come from individual human choices and actions. The Bible was written by men inspired by God, who wished to share that inspiration with their fellow men.

Most important in the practice of the Christian life, according to the Session as individuals and the report of congregational emphasis, is regular and frequent prayer and Bible reading. Congregational members, ranking this activity second, put in first place the avoidance of dishonesty, uncleanness, and other such immorality. Least acceptable to the congregation members was the servant role, while Session members ranked last the attitudes of thrift, responsibility, and hard work, and reported that the congregational emphasis was least upon that chosen as most important by members of the congregation--the avoidance of personal immorality. The role of the church most favored in all three categories was the provision of a place of worship and fellowship. Second rankings varied considerably, with the congregational emphasis reported as teaching the faith, Session members choosing preparation for service, and regular members--unlike the response in most other congregations--opting for activity in the field of public morality. Least favored by congregation members and in the report of the congregation's emphasis was the international role, while Session members as individuals were least inclined to emphasize the role of the church in policing private morality. Neither Session members' nor congregation members' responses showed statistically significant consensus.

E 16

God is a spiritual force within persons, which can be tapped for help and comfort if we know how. Jesus is the Son of God, for God's fullness dwelt in him. Eternity is a quality of life which can begin here and now. Things that are bad in this world come primarily from strains within the social system. The Bible was written by men inspired by God, who wanted to share that inspiration with their fellow men.

Most important in the Christian life, for Session members, and also in their perception of the teaching of their congregations is working in any way possible for the improvement of community and society. For members of the congregation, this item ranked second only to being kind and loving to others, and living by the Sermon on the Mount. Session members ranked second the pursuit of public morality in such areas as civil rights, although they reported that the congregational emphasis placed above this the two items ranked first by congregational members--personal kindliness and concern, and the more ambiguous item of living according to the Sermon on the Mount. Of least acceptability to the Session as individuals and in the perception of the congregation's emphasis was regular church attendance. Members of the congregation ranked this item low, but felt even less favorable to the kind of public involvement in such things as civil rights which their minister and Session emphasized. As to the role of the church, the teaching of the faith was rated first by Session members both as individuals and in their report of the congregational emphasis. Individual members ranked that item third, with the provision of a place of worship and fellowship and the preparation of members to serve ranked higher. Least acceptable to all was the provision of a haven of security, although the enforcement of personal morality was rejected nearly as strongly, and Session members also gave low ranking to activity in international affairs.

E 23

God is a force both within and beyond man, who is involved in human affairs, though above them. Jesus is the Son of God, for God's fullness dwelt in Him. There is a life beyond death, for which this life is just a preparation. Things that are bad in this world come primarily from strains within the social system. The Bible was written by men inspired by God who wished to share that inspiration with their fellow men.

The most important item in the Christian life, as emphasized in the congregation, is being kind and loving to others; closely following this characteristic is working to improve one's community and society. The Session agreed as to the first ranked item as individuals, but ranked second the following of the Sermon on the Mount. Members of the congregation again affirmed the importance of kindness and love, but felt that next in importance should come regular prayer and Bible reading.

Least acceptable to the Session and as a congregational emphasis was being hard-working and thrifty, but the congregation was least pleased to accept as part of the Christian life public responsibility in voting, holding office, etc. Concepts of the role of the church tended to mirror the pattern set by the mainstream.

E 32

God can be man's personal friend and companion, to whom he can turn for aid and comfort. Jesus is the Son of God, for God's fullness dwelt in him, although the miraculous conception and virgin birth are also of equal value in understanding his nature. There is a life beyond death, though we know little of it; however, eternity is also a quality of life which can begin here and now. Things that are bad in this world come primarily from individual human choices and actions. The Bible was written by men inspired by God who wished to share their inspiration with their fellow men.

Most important in the Christian life, according to members of the Session as individuals and in reporting the emphasis of their congregation, is working to improve one's community and society, although Session members also found of equal value the avoidance of dishonesty, uncleanness, and similar types of immorality. Congregation members placed first a life according to the Sermon on the Mount. Least acceptable to all these groups was the emphasis upon hard work, responsibility, and thrift. The role of the church most favored by Session members and as a congregational emphasis was the provision of a place for worship and fellowship among God's people. Here, however, the congregation's preference tended toward the sacred pole, as they take as highest ranking the role of the church in the provision of a haven of security in a troubled world. The implementation of public morality in fields of discrimination and the like ranked second or third throughout. Least acceptable as congregational emphasis and to congregation members was the international role, although Session members preferred this to those choices which could be construed to represent the extremes of the sacred-secular continuum--the provision of security in a troubled world and the preparation of members for service in that world.

E 34

God is a force both within the beyond man, who is involved in human affairs, though above them. Jesus Christ is the Son of God, because God's fullness dwelt in him. He was greatly inspired by God, and shows us the way to God. There is a life beyond death, but we know little of it. Things that are bad in this world come primarily from individual human choices and actions. The Bible was written by men inspired by God, who wanted to share that inspiration with their fellow men.

In the teachings of the congregation, and the private opinions of its Session, the most important of the listed factors of a Christian life is that a Christian should work in any way he can to improve the community and the society in which he lives. The members of the congregation found this item second only to being kind and loving to others (an item rated fourth as congregational emphasis, third by individual Session members). For themselves and the congregation as a unity, Session members ranked second such items of public responsibility as voting, holding public office, etc. The evangelical emphasis in a personal sense was ranked lowest by Session members both as an item of congregational emphasis and in their own opinion. Congregation members ranked lowest the servant image. Congregation members, however, were not sufficiently in agreement in this area to provide statistically significant agreement on any of these items. Congregational emphasis concerning the role of the Church was reported as greatest in its training its members to go out to serve the world. Session members also chose this as their personal opinion. Second, both for the Session as individuals and in the report of the teaching of the congregation, was working toward such issues of public morality as civil rights and the elimination of discrimination. The congregation, however, saw as its first duty the provision of a place of worship and fellowship. Their second ranking item was the implementation of the servant role, although they had ranked that role lowest in the items concerning the Christian life. The lowest ranked as an emphasis of the congregation was the provision of a haven of security in a troubled world, and this item was also ranked low by Session members as individuals and by members of the congregation. Lowest ranked by Session members was the traditional puritan role of policing private morals in the realm of drunkenness, sexual license, and the like, while the congregation felt that activity in the realm of international relations was least acceptable to them.

A Deviant in Both Directions

E 27

God is a force both within and beyond man, who is involved in human affairs, though above them. Christ is the Son of God, miraculously conceived by the Holy Spirit, and born of the Virgin Mary. There is a life beyond death, for which this life is just a preparation. The Bible was written by men inspired by God, who wished to share their inspiration with their fellow men. Bad things in this world are primarily the result of individual human choices and actions.

As to the practice of the Christian life, the congregation emphasizes most public responsibility, such as voting and holding public office. Members of the Session, however, rank this item quite low, and choose as their most important factor in the Christian life regular prayer and Bible reading. Congregation members, ranking public responsibility at the midpoint and prayer and Bible reading third, choose as most important treating others with kindness and love. Least acceptable to Session members and those of the congregation is the servant role, though the report of congregational emphasis also puts kindness and love in dealing with others in last place. The role of the church preferred by Session members as individuals and in the perception of the congregation's emphasis was the provision of a place of worship and fellowship. Members of the congregation ranked first the teaching of the faith and second the provision of a haven of security in a troubled world. Least acceptable to all categories was the international role of the church.

Responses on God, evil, and the Christian life were not statistically significant.